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HISTORY OF IRELAND:

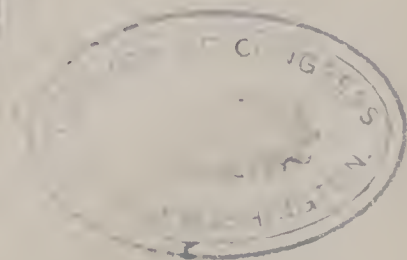
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE YEAR 1875.

FIFTH EDITION, REVISED.

THE FIRST CHAPTER RE-WRITTEN

BY

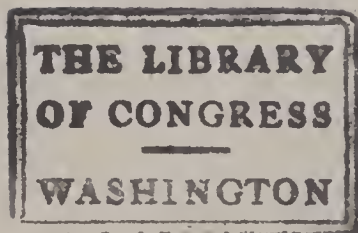
JAMES A. SMITH.



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ERRATA.

Page 36, *line 14th from top, for Edward III. read, Edward I.*

Page 36, *line 18th from top, for The offspring of the Princess read
The offspring of the daughter of the Princess.*

Page 181, *line 3rd to 5th from top, for between the great heiress,
&c., as mentioned at p. 36, read, of the great heiress, &c., men-
tioned at p. 155.*

NOTE. For the more immediate continuation of the subject referred to at the close of Chap. I. see pp. 155 and 181 consecutively, subject to the above corrections.

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TABLE OF THE MILESIAK KINGS OF ALL IRELAND.

<i>After Heber and Heremon had reigned jointly one year.</i>		<i>Began to reign, A.M.</i>		<i>Reigned.</i>	
<i>Line of</i>	<i>1. HEREMON became first King of all Ireland</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2738</i>	<i>14 years.</i>	
Heremon	<i>2. MUIMNE, LUIGNE, and LAIGNE</i>		<i>2752</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>"</i>
Heber	<i>3. ER, ORBHA, FEARON, and FEARGNA...</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2755</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>"</i>
Heremon	<i>4. IRIAL</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2756</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>5. EITHRAIL</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2766</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>"</i>
Heb.	<i>6. CONMAOL</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2786</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>"</i>
Her.	<i>7. TIGHERMAS</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2816</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>"</i>
Ith.	<i>8. EOCHAIDH I. Eadgothac</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2866</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>"</i>
Ir.	<i>9. CEARMNA and SOBHUAIKCE</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2870</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>"</i>
Heb.	<i>10. EOCHAIDH II. Faobharglas</i>		<i>2910</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>"</i>
Her.	<i>11. FIACHAIDH I. Labhruine</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2930</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>"</i>
Heb.	<i>12. EOCHAIDH III. Mumho</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>2954</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>"</i>
Her.	<i>13. AONGUS I. Ollmuchach</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2976</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>"</i>
Heb.	<i>14. EADNA I. Airgtheach</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>2994</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>"</i>
Her.	<i>15. ROTHEACHTA I.</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3021</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>"</i>
Ir.	<i>16. SEADHNA</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3046</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>17. FIACHAIDH II. Fiongathach</i>		<i>3051</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>"</i>
Heb.	<i>18. MUINEHAMHOIN</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3071</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>19. AILDERGOIDH</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3076</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>"</i>
Ir.	<i>20. OLLAMH Fodhla</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3083</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>21. FIONNACHTA</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3113</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>22. SLANOLL</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3128</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>23. GEIDE Ollgothac</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3143</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>24. FIACHAIDH III.</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3160</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>25. BEARNGALL</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3184</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>26. OILLIOL I</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3196</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>"</i>
Her.	<i>27. SIORNA Saogalach</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3212</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>"</i>
Heb.	<i>28. ROTHEACHTA II.</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3233</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>"</i>
"	<i>29. EILM I</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3240</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>"</i>
Her.	<i>30. GIALLAHADH</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3241</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>"</i>
Heb.	<i>31. AIRT I. Imleach</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>3250</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>"</i>

<i>Line of</i>		<i>Began to reign, A.M.</i>	<i>Reigned.</i>
Her.	32. NUADHA I. <i>Fionn Fail</i>	... 3272	20 years.
Heb.	33. BREASRIGH ... ..	... 3292	9 „
Ith.	34. EOCHAIDH II. <i>Apthach</i>	... 3301	1 „
Ir.	35. FIONN ... ..	.. 3302	20 „
Heb.	36. SEADHNA <i>Jonaraice</i>	... 3322	20 „
Her.	37. SIMEON <i>Breac</i> ... ..	... 3342	6 „
„	38. DUACH I. <i>Fionn</i> ... ..	... 3348	5 „
„	39. MUIREADHACH I. <i>Balgrach</i> ...	3353	4 „
Heb.	40. EADNA II. <i>Dearg</i> ... ..	... 3357	12 „
„	41. LUGHAIDH I. <i>Jardhouinn</i> ...	3369	9 „
Ir.	42. SIORLAMH ... ..	... 3378	16 „
Heb.	43. EOCHAIDH V. <i>Vairceas</i> ...	3394	12 „
Her.	44. EOCHAIDH VI. <i>Fiadhmhuine,</i> and CONUNG, <i>Beg Aglach,</i> jointly ... ..	... 3406	5 „
Heb.	45. LUGHAIDH II. <i>Lamhdhearg</i>	3411	7 „
Her.	46. CONUNG <i>Beg Aglach</i> , alone	3418	10 „
Heb.	47. AIRT II. ... ..	... 3428	6 „
Her.	48. FIACHAIDH IV. <i>Tolgrach</i> ...	3434	7 „
Heb.	49. OILLIOL II. <i>Fonn</i> ... ..	.. 3441	9 „
„	50. EOCHAIDH VII ... ..	... 3450	7 „
Ir.	51. AIRGOIDMHAR ... ..	... 3457	23 „
Her.	52. DUACH II. <i>Laighrach</i> ...	3480	10 „
Heb.	53. LUGHAIDH III. <i>Laighe</i> ...	3490	7 „
Ir.	54. AODHA, or HUGH I. <i>Ruadh</i> ...	3497	21 „
„	55. DIOTHORBA ... ..	... 3518	21 „
„	56. CIOMBOATH ... ..	... 3539	20 „
„	57. MUCHADH <i>Mongruadh</i> (Queen)	3559	7 „
Heb.	58. REACHTA <i>Righdearg</i>	3566	20 „
Her.	59. UGAINE <i>More</i> , the Great ...	3586	30 „
„	60. LAOGAIRE I. <i>Lorck</i>... ..	... 3616	2 „
„	61. COBHTHACH <i>Caolbreag</i> ...	3618	30 „
„	62. LAEHRA <i>Loingseach</i> ... ..	... 3648	18 „
„	63. MEILGE <i>Molbthach</i> ... ..	... 3666	7 „
Heb.	64. MODHICHOEB... ..	... 3673	7 „
Her.	65. AONGUS II. <i>Olamh</i> ... ..	... 3680	18 „
„	66. JARAN <i>Gleofathach</i> ... ..	... 3698	7 „
Heb.	67. FEARCHORB ... ..	... 3705	11 „

<i>Line of</i>		<i>Began to reign, A.M.</i>	<i>Reigned.</i>
Her.	68. CONLA <i>Cuiaidh Cealgach</i> ...	3716	4 years.
„	69. OILLIOL III. <i>Caishaidlach</i> ...	3720	25 „
Heb.	70. ADAMHAR <i>Foltchaoín</i> ...	3745	5 „
Her.	71. EOCHAIDH VIII. <i>Foltleathan</i> ...	3750	11 „
„	72. FEARGUS I. <i>Forthamhuil</i> ...	3761	12 „
„	73. AONGUS III. <i>Tuirmheach</i> ...	3773	30 „
„	74. CONALL I. <i>Callamhrach</i> ...	3803	5 „
Heb.	75. NIADH II. <i>Seadhamhum</i> ...	3808	7 „
Her.	76. EADNA III. <i>Aighnach</i> ...	3815	28 „
„	77. CRIOMTHAN I. <i>Crosgrach</i> ...	3843	7 „
Ir.	78. RUGHRUIDHE, the Great ...	3850	30 „
Heb.	79. JONADHMHAR ...	3880	3 „
Ir.	80. BREASAL <i>Bodhiabha</i> ...	3883	11 „
Heb.	81. LUGHAIÐH IV. <i>Luaighne</i> ...	3894	5 „
Ir.	82. CONGALL I. <i>Claringneach</i> ...	3899	13 „
Heb.	83. DUACH III. <i>Dalta Deaghadh</i> ...	3912	10 „
Ir.	84. FACHTNA <i>Fathach</i> ...	3922	18 „
Her.	85. EOCHAIDH IX. <i>Feidhhoich</i> ...	3940	12 „
„	86. EOCHAIDH X. <i>Aireamh</i> ...	3952	12 „
„	87. EIDERSGEOL ...	3964	6 „
„	88. NUADH <i>Neacht</i> ...	3970	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
„	89. CONAIRE I., the Great ...	3970	30 „
„	90. LUGHAIÐH V. <i>Riabdearg</i> ...	4000	20 „
„	91. CONNOR <i>Abhraidhruadh</i> ...	4020	1 „
„	92. CRIOMTHAN II. <i>Niadhnar</i> ...	4021	16 „
A.D.			
„	93. FEARAIDACH <i>Fionfachthnach</i> ...	4	20 „
„	94. FIACHADH V. <i>Fion</i>	24	3 „
„	95. FIACHADH VI. <i>Fionluidh</i> ...	27	27 „
Firbolg or Dane.	96. CAIRBRE I. <i>Cuineait</i> ...	54	5 „
Ir.	97. ELIM II.	59	21 „
Her.	98. TUATHAL I. <i>Teachtmar</i> ..	79	30 „
Ir.	99. MAL	109	4 „
Her.	100. FEIDLIMHIDH <i>Reachtmar</i> ...	113	9 „
„	101. CATHAIR <i>More</i> , the Great ...	122	3 „
„	102. CONN <i>Ceadchathach</i> . (of the 100 battles)	135	20 „

<i>Line of</i>		<i>Began to Reign, A.D.</i>	<i>Reigned.</i>
Her.	103. CONAIRE II. ...	145	7 years.
,,	104. ART III. <i>Aonfhir</i> ...	152	30 ,,
Ith.	105. LUGHAIDH VI. <i>Mac Con</i> ...	182	30 ,,
Her.	106. FEARGUS II. <i>Dubhdheadach</i>	212	1 ,,
,,	107. CORMAC <i>Ulfada</i> ...	213	40 ,,
,,	108. EOCHAIDH XI. <i>Gunait</i> ...	253	1 ,,
,,	109. CAIRBRE II. <i>Liffeachair</i> ...	254	27 ,,
,,	110. FATHACH <i>Airgtheach</i> and FATHACH <i>Cairptheach</i> , jointly ...	281	1 ,,
,,	111. FIACHAIDH VII. <i>Streabhthine</i>	282	30 ,,
,,	112. COLLA <i>Vais</i> ...	312	4 ,,
,,	113. MUIREADHACH II. <i>Tireach</i> ...	316	30 ,,
Ir.	114. CAOLBHACH . .	346	1 ,,
Her.	115. EOCHAIDH XII. <i>Moidhmeodhin</i>	347	7 ,,
,,	116. CRIOMTHAN III. ...	354	17 ,,
,,	117. NIAL I., <i>of the nine hostages</i>	371	27 ,,
,,	118. DATHY ...	398	23 ,,
,,	119. LAOGHAIRE II. ...	421	30 ,,
,,	120. OILLIOL IV. <i>Molt</i> ...	451	20 ,,
,,	121. LUGHAIDH VII. ...	471	20 ,,
,,	122. MORTOUGH I. ...	491	24 ,,
,,	123. TUATHAL II. <i>Maolgarbh</i> ...	515	13 ,,
,,	124. DIARMUIDH I. ...	528	22 ,,
,,	125. FEARGUS III. and DANIEL I., <i>brothers</i> ...	550	1 ,,
,,	126. EOCHAIDH VIII. and BAODAN, his Uncle ...	551	3 ,,
,,	127. AINMEREACH ...	554	3 ,,
,,	128. BAODAN, alone ...	557	1 ,,
,,	129. AODH or HUGH II. ...	558	27 ,,
,,	130. AODH or HUGH III. <i>Slaine</i> and COLMAN <i>Rimidh</i> ...	585	6 ,,
,,	131. AODH or HUGH IV. <i>Uairiodh</i> <i>hach</i> ...	591	27 ,,
,,	132. MAOLCOMBHA ...	618	4 ,,
,,	133. SUIBHNE <i>Meain</i> ...	622	13 ,,
,,	134. DANIEL II. ...	635	13 ,,

<i>Line of</i>		<i>Began to reign, A.D.</i>	<i>Reigned.</i>
Her.	135. CONALL II. (<i>Claon</i>) and CEAL- LACH, brothers	648	13 years.
„	136. BLATHNIAC and DIARMUID II. <i>Ruaidhnaig</i>	661	7 „
„	137. SEACHNUSACH	668	6 „
„	138. CIONNFAOLA... ..	674	4 „
„	139. FIONNACHTA <i>Fleadhac</i>	678	7 „
„	140. LOINGSEACH	685	8 „
„	141. CONGALL II. <i>Cionnmaghair</i>	693	9 „
„	142. FEARGALL	702	17 „
„	143. FOGARTHACH	719	1 „
„	144. CIONAOTH	720	4 „
„	145. FLAITHBHEARTACH	724	7 „
„	146. AODH or HUGH V. <i>Ollan</i>	731	9 „
„	147. DANIEL III.	740	42 „
„	148. NIAL II. <i>Freasach</i>	782	4 „
„	149. DUNCHADHA or DUNCAN	787	2 „
„	150. AODH or HUGH VI. <i>Dorudighe</i>	813	24 „
„	151. CONCHABHAR	837	14 „
„	152. NIAL III. <i>Caille</i>	851	15 „
Dane	153. TURGESIUS (<i>the Dane</i>)	866	13 „
Her.	154. MAOLSEACHLIN I.	879	16 „
„	155. AODH or HUGH VII. <i>Fionnliath</i>	895	18 „
„	156. FLAN <i>Sionna</i>	913	38 „
„	157. NIAL IV. <i>Glandubh</i>	951	3 „
„	158. DONNOGH I.	954	30 „
„	159. CONGALL III.	984	10 „
„	160. DANIEL IV.	994	10 „
„	161. MAOLSEACHLIN II.	1004	23 „
Heb.	162. BRIAN <i>Boiroimhe</i>	1027	12 „
Her.	163. MAOLSEACHLIN III.	1039	9 „
Heb.	164. DONNOGH II.	1048	50 „
„	165. TORLOUGH I.	1098	12 „
„	166. MORTOUGH II.	1110	20 „
Her.	167. TORLOUGH II.	1130	20 „
„	168. MORTOUGH III.	1150	18 „
„	169. RODERICK, <i>the last King</i> of all Ireland	1168	8 „

ANCIENT DIVISIONS OF IRELAND.

LEINSTER TO THE EAST. Twelve Counties.		ULSTER TO THE NORTH. Nine Counties.	
Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Modern Name.	Ancient Name.
Meath*	Southern Hy-Niall.	Donegal	Tir Conaill.
Queen's Co.	Leix.	Tyrone	Tir Eogain.
Kilkenny	Ossory.	Antrim	Dalriada.
King's Co.	Ophally.	Down	Uladh, or Ulidia.
Wexford	Hy-Kinsallagh.	Londonderry	Oireacht ui Chathain.
Wicklow	Cualann.	Cavan.	Breffny O'Reilly, or East Breffney.
Kildare	Offelan & Hy-Murray.	Fermanagh	Fir-Monach.
Westmeath†	Teffia.	Monaghan	Part of Oirghiall.
Longford	Annaly.	Armagh	Part of Oirghiall.
Carlow	Hy-Drona & Hy-Felimy		
Louth‡	Part of Oirghiall.		
Dublin	Hy-Dunchada.		

MUNSTER TO THE SOUTH. Six Counties.		CONNAUGHT TO THE WEST. Five Counties.	
Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Modern Name.	Ancient Name.
Clare	Thomond, or	Galway	Hy-Many, IarConnacht
Limerick		Mayo	Hy Fiachrach.
Tipperary	North Munster. Desmond, or	Roscommon§	Comprises Hy-Fiach- rach-Moy, Leyney, Carbury, Corrann, and Tir-Oililla.
Cork		Sligo.	
Kerry	South Munster.	Leitrim	
Waterford			West Breffney.

* All Meath, from the Shannon to the sea, was the country of the Southern *Hy-Niall*.

† Westmeath comprises *Teffia*, and several other territories, as *Cuirne*, *Hy-Mac Uais*, *Corca Raidh*, *Cinel Fiacha*, *Dealbhna Mor*, *Fera Tulach*, &c.

‡ The level part of county of Louth was called *Machaire-Oirghiall*, and *Canaille-Muirtheimhne*, and its mountainous part, *Cu Igne*.

§ Roscommon comprises a part of *Hy-many*, *Teora Tuatha*, *Magh Aei*, *Magh-Luirg*, and *Tir Tuathail*.

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

THE histories of all nations of great antiquity have suffered by the destruction of manuscripts, and Ireland has had her full share of this calamity, as the fragmentary evidences of a very ancient and intrinsically primitive literature, clearly connecting her with the early Phœnician period, still irrefragably declare. The stone records which have done such recent service to the older Asiatic empires, if they ever existed to any important extent in the Erin of the past,—and they are not wholly absent,—could obviously avail little against the fretting influence of time in so humid a climate; and war, the ruthless enemy of learning's fragile treasures, took the formidable aspects of internal dissension as well as foreign invasion in this unhappy island; and for many generations, after the English subjugation more especially, spared neither the archives nor the arts of civilization, by which the culture of preceding centuries had committed its results to the keeping of the future. What remains to us of early Irish history, therefore, so far as it retains the features of continuity and the elements of possibility, rests its

claim to our acceptance chiefly on the fact that it was recorded in the most public manner at a period when the means of deceiving were impossible on account of the nearness and general knowledge of the leading events; for its main current is certainly not of modern invention. The persistent and unconflicting testimony of a nation's own historians must necessarily be in all cases the main grounds for our credence, in the absence of all knowledge of a contrary character, and especially in the case of an insular and isolated people. But the art of romancing is not the discovery of the modern novelist. In all ages mankind have delighted in the thrilling interest of obvious and transparent fiction. The very constitution of the human mind would testify the fact were other evidence utterly wanting. All ages and nations have idealized their favourite leaders. Yet who would reject the records of modern history because its personages have been made the heroes of our *belles lettres*, in our dramas, our poetry, our historical romances, and an utterance of the most vivid and fascinating character given to even the innermost thoughts of princes, which no man could possibly know? So the poetry of every age has been guilty of playing with the great personages of history, if with guilt it can justly be charged. The guilt we rather lay upon those who, little qualified to appreciate the purely amusing, or to deal with the cardinal features of all national literature, have taken upon themselves the grave responsibilities of the historian, and, hastily mistaking a romance for a record, while slowly discovering its improbability, have vehemently condemned what was never intended to deceive, and then mixing up with national events things essentially separate and distinct, have perfected their own stolidity by

declaring whole histories incredible! These are the real falsifiers of human history. For why should history alone come down to us from antiquity frigidly bare and pure, and all its contemporary and associated romancing perish? Woe to the modern cultivators of the literary laurel if such be the fate of fiction!

Separated from that fiction which never was a part of it until muddling visited and confounded two clear and distinct descending streams, the history supplied to us by ancient Ireland is the more entitled to consideration,—its insular position being remembered,—because it is in all essential particulars, and as far as corroboration could be expected to go, confirmed or supported by the early history of the kindred kingdom founded in Northern Britain by the Scots.

According to her own historians, then, Ireland appears to have been first peopled by four colonies, called respectively Partholansians, Nemedians, Firbolgs or Belgæ, and Tuath de Danaans, Danonians, or Danes, coming more immediately from the German portion of the adjacent continent, but said to be Japhethic races descended from Tathocter, the eldest son of Magog. These tribes, after occupying the island for some generations, were invaded and conquered by the sons of Milo or Milesius,—the king or leader of a strong force of Scythians, Scuits or Scots, then settled in Galician Spain, and the patriarch of the Milesian race. The Scythia of this period included the whole of northern Europe and Asia as far south as and including Russian Tartary.

As within the modern or English period of Irish history the descent from the royal line of Milesius becomes in its known and well-authenticated facts invested with an almost romantic national inter-

est to the whole British Empire, no history of Ireland fulfils, even in the most superficial manner, its requirements, which does not set forth, *quantum valeat*, the recorded genealogy of this line, which is thus deduced from (1.) Noah and (2.) Japheth, his eldest son, (Gen. x. 2 and 21,) whose second son (3.) Magog, is stated to have had two sons, Tathocter, the ancestor of the first inhabitants of Erin, as already mentioned, and (4.) Baath, the ancestor of the Gadelian and Milesian race. The son of this Baath was (5.) Feniusa *Farsa*, (the *Persian*?) king of the Scythians B.C. 2134, whose son (6.) Niul, having distinguished himself in Egypt as a military leader in the service of Pharaoh Cingcris, was honoured with the hand of Pharaoh's daughter in marriage,—a lady whose name or designation is mentioned as *Scota*. Whether this princess was the royal lady who saved Moses is unfortunately not recorded, though that would have been a small and almost inevitable strain of probability to a romancer engaged in the inventing of history; but the period here referred to is shown to be that of the Exodus by the fact that Niul is stated to have been personally acquainted with Aaron, and that his son (7.) Gadelas, the Patriarch of the Gadelians, having been bitten by a serpent, had his wound healed by the rod of Moses. Niul and Gadelas appear to have sympathized with the Israelites,—a sympathy probably shared in, if not instigated, by *Scota*, as they facilitated the Exodus by providing the Israelites with a portion of their supplies. After beholding the overthrow of Pharaoh, Niul and his son left Egypt, and returned to Scythia.

Gadelas had a son named (8.) Easru, whose son (9.) Sru, driven with his adherents from Scythia by Pharaoh an Tuir, retired to Crete, from whence his

son (10.) Eibher or Heber Scot returned to Scythia. From him descended, in direct succession from sire to son, (11.) Beoganion, (12.) Agnanion, (13.) Tait, and (14.) Adnoin; the latter of whom slew the Scythian king Riffleior in hand to hand combat. Adnoin's son (15.) Ramfhion was a chief commander of the Scythians in their invasion of Gothland; and his descendants from sire to son were (16.) Heber Glunnfionn, lord of Gothland, and (17.) Faobhar, (18.) Nianual, (19.) Nuagatt, (20.) Alloid, (21.) Earchada and (22.) Deaghatha, all successively lords of Gothland. (23.) Breatha or Brach, son of Deaghatha, left Gothland, and settled in Spain, where he founded the city of Brachar, the modern Braga. His son (24.) Breogan or Briggan, patriarch of the Brigantes, won many battles against the Spaniards, and founded the city of Brigantia, the modern Braganza, stated to be near Cruine, which is evidently Groyne, the ancient name of La Coruna, better known in British military history by the melancholy but glorious name of Corunna, from which Braganza is not remotely distant, and which is known to be a city of Phœnician origin, the fact being testified by their Torre de Hercules, or Tower of Hercules, which still remains, the lighthouse of the port. The elder son of Breogan was (25.) Bilius, the father of the celebrated (26.) Milo or Milesius.

Milesius having visited his kinsmen in Scythia, and slain the Scythian king for an act of treachery, is said to have obtained military distinction in Egypt, and then to have married the daughter of Pharaoh Nectanebus, a princess who happens to be also called or designated *Scota*,—a circumstance which may be explained by her having, like the previous Egyptian princess, daughter of Pharaoh Cingeris, received an epitaph of this kind in consequence of marry-

ing a Scythian or Scuit, as Heber Scot seems to have received the latter part of his name in allusion to his having returned to Scythia,—in contradistinction to Heber Glunnfionn, second lord of Gothland. The name *I'arsa*, added to Feniusa, may in like manner have referred to his having sojourned in or settled on the Scythian confines of Persia. It cannot have been a surname in that age.

There is much of a circumstantial and nothing of an utterly impossible character in the preceding genealogical narrative. Facts wholly exterior to Irish history are boldly stated and relied on; and the two cities of Braga and Braganza, situated at a distance of about sixty miles from each other, on the confines of Spanish Galicia, named after their founders—two of the immediate progenitors of Milesius—and fully identified by modern geography, seem specially to defy the challenge of the incredulous. Even the two alliances with princesses of the imperial dynasty of Egypt are not left without a suggested explanation, supplied by independent history, of the reason why in neither case the Scythian heroes settled under the mighty shadow of the Pharaohs; for while in the first case the immediate destruction of the Egyptian king must have left an overawing impression of national visitation and danger, in the latter case Nectanebus—himself the last of these Pharaohs—had to fly into Ethiopia before the victorious sword of Darius, his kingdom becoming from that time tributary to the Persian kings.

Perhaps the most formidable objection, and that which can be most completely disposed of, is the one which readily suggests itself upon the statement of the Irish historians that Niul, the fifth descendant from Noah through the Japhethic line, was contemporary with Moses and Aaron, two of

the fifteenth generation of descendants from Noah through the line of Shem. This difficulty is purely Scriptural in its basis, and on a Scriptural basis it admits of the most complete and irresistible answer. In the first place we must remark, that if this be historical fiction, the blunder is so obvious, that it is not one that a deliberate inventor of history, taking Scriptural elements into his service, would be likely to commit; and far less is it one that a whole nation and all its historians, ancient and modern, would be likely to adhere to and continue. What explanation, then, does the subject admit of on the basis of Scripture itself? We are aware of the one suggested by some of the Irish historians,—*i. e.*, the possibility that Japheth's first descendants may have lived longer than those of Shem, though born later in the life of their parents. But this is stated as a mere conjecture, and the Scripture narrative does not quite leave the matter there. There is positive evidence given that down to about the close of Noah's life, or three hundred and fifty years after the Deluge, the race of Japheth had not increased to the same numerical extent as his two brothers'. In Genesis x., where a contemporaneous view is given of the posterity of Noah's three sons, there are only as yet a portion of the second generation of Japheth's children in existence, viz. (vv. 3, 4) some of his grandsons by two of his sons, Gomer and Javan, but no grandson by Magog or his other sons. In the case of Ham, part of the third generation of his descendants is given as well as a much more numerous offspring in whole; while in Shem's case part of the fifth generation of his descendants is given, and a still more numerous offspring in whole. In the eleventh chapter of Genesis, where (verse 10 to the end) a

recapitulation of Shem's descendants is given in more detail, we find that at the period referred to, nearly three hundred and fifty years after the Deluge, and previous to the death of Noah, no less than nine generations of Shem's descendants had been born; for Abraham was born two hundred and ninety-two years after the Deluge, and consequently fifty-eight years before the death of Noah. This, in fact, forms the very point of Noah's prophecy, "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." Japheth was then small in number among his brethren, and his numerical inferiority was apparent to his father Noah. That Magog became a father of nations is certain from the sacred narrative; but it appears equally certain that no child of his was born before the death of Noah. That a contemporaneous condition of the early families of mankind within the period of Noah's life is contemplated and dealt with in the tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis is made apparent from several particulars. Thus the descendants of Shem there dealt with were all born within the period of his own life. Shem died five hundred and two years after the Deluge, and Abraham was born two hundred and ninety-two years after the Deluge, or fifty-eight years before the death of Noah, and two hundred and ten years before the death of Shem, who survived Abraham by thirty-five years. If Japheth lived as long as Shem,—and there could not be more than two years between their births; for Noah was five hundred years old before he begat his sons, (Gen. v. 32,) and five hundred and two years old at the birth of Shem; (vii. 6, 11, and xi. 10;) then Japheth himself was still living upwards of thirty years after the death of Abraham. But what ground is there given anywhere for *the assumption*, which forms the *whole basis*

of this objection to the integrity of the Milesian narrative, that the first three or four generations of Japheth should be shorter lived than the first three or four generations of Shem? The prophecy of Noah with regard to Japheth implies nothing adverse to him or his posterity, but the very reverse; it promises, in fact, compensation for that which for the moment appears to be adverse:—He who is now small in number *shall be enlarged*. How was this to be accomplished? Surely not by abridging the longevity of his immediate posterity. Shortening their lives would have been a penalty without an offence! Delay of their development is all that was implied.

Taking, then, the fact so manifest, that Magog, Japheth's second son, had no child before the death of Noah, or three hundred and fifty years after the Deluge, Baath, Magog's son and the grandson of Japheth, may fairly be presumed to have had as long a life as Salah, the son of Arphaxad and grandson of Shem, and thus Baath, born three hundred and fifty years after the Deluge, and living four hundred and three years, like Salah, would die seven hundred and fifty-three years after the Deluge, or about twenty-four years before the birth of Moses! But the Japhethic race being, as we are clearly shown, a race of slower development at the outset than the Hamites and Semites,—if Baath was as old when his son Feniusa *Farsa* was born as Terah was when his son Abraham was born, *i.e.*, seventy years, and if Feniusa, the great grandson of Japheth, had as long a life as Eber, the great grandson of Shem, *i.e.*, four hundred and thirty years, Feniusa must have been born four hundred and twenty years after the Deluge, and died eight hundred and fifty years after it. Moses therefore would be seventy-three years old when Feniusa died. What incredibility, then,

is there about the Milesian record, that Niul, the son of Feniusa, and Gadelas, his grandson, were contemporaries of Moses and Aaron, and being at the royal court of Egypt, came into personal contact with them? Is it at all probable that the Milesian historian subjected the Scriptural narrative to such a critical analysis as we have now done, and then *invented* his history? If he did so, is it equally probable that he would have left his invention to the criticism of posterity, without supporting it by a vindication so liable to be missed, and which, in fact, has been missed for two thousand five hundred years till now? If the Milesian genealogy had been an invention, we may safely assert that the inventor would not have given it the peculiarly challengeable, yet remarkably vindicable, character which it has, without some comment or explanation. The preceding is the *ex facie* Scriptural objection fairly met by the intrinsic Scriptural facts.

But all profane history corroborates this, and shows us that the Hamite and Semitic races had a great start in their favour in the race of empire. Their first empires were, in fact, hoary with antiquity, and the Semite dynasties dimmed by oblivion and nodding to decay before the Japhethic or European kingdoms came into prominence or power; and many of Japheth's descendants were still wandering in search of their first settlements, after the sceptres of Egypt, Assyria, and Media had long passed away, and ruin only remained to commemorate their grandeur. This fact proves beyond all challenge of historical scepticism the slow development of Japhethic dominion, and concurrently the more tardy increase of their numbers. Nor is a reasonable explanation difficult to find in the superior continence and self-denial of their race. Polygamy has

never been a national fact or institution among them. It is to their history alone that all the romance and chivalry of true and undivided love belong. It may be that polygamy, as has been urged, is adverse, rather than otherwise, to the promotion of increase in the limited lives of later ages. But during the prolonged generations of the early patriarchs it must have been a formidable advantage, though perhaps even then but evanescent, and tending to ultimate feebleness and decay. To the descendants of Japheth, however, without any other guide than spontaneous sentiment, it has never had attractions. Only in a state of separation and ostracism, and out of the vilest dregs of their society and its victims, could such an immorality as Mormonism even exceptionally arise, and then only to flourish in flagrant shame—sustained by fraud and crime, but utterly unsanctioned and uncoun tenanced by all high intelligence and all respectability. Semitic and Hamitic nations would regard it without moral repugnance,—probably with complete sympathy. But it is an open scandal in the family of Japheth, and reprobated by their whole generic and national sentiments. It may be a point of etymology with the Irish historians to determine whether the name of *Gadelas* or *Galthelas*, the patriarch of the Gadelian and Milesian race, be synonymous or identical with the Hebrew term *gentile*, but it requires no speculative philology in presence of Genesis x. 5 to show that the descendants of Japheth were the Gentiles in the express meaning and language of sacred history; or, to give from it and the facts just considered a powerful force to *their* Apostle's expression,—the Gentiles having not the law are a law unto themselves, their consciences accusing or excusing one another. No Divine injunc-

tion has guided them on this subject. Even New Testament revelation is not strongly expressive upon it. Yet without any general concurrence or consent, and throughout the whole tribes and peoples and nations of the family—widely separated or warring and at deadly feud on any other point—there has been no difference on this,—polygamy has nowhere and never been nationalised in their history. Faults and crimes they undeniably have had. Weakness and error may have overtaken them, and multitudes among them may have utterly fallen; but as a rule they have *never publicly systematised their vices*. Though polygamy, therefore, may have given the Semites and Hamites an advantage in point of numbers at the outset, which the enlargement of Japheth, with a wider world before it than Semitic civilization ever knew, has not even yet been able to overtake, there seems everywhere to have followed it the enfeebling of their race; and we may reasonably conclude, also, an earlier influence against their longevity; which in some instances, as in Upper Egypt and other places, has resulted in an extreme and altogether remarkable abridgment of the human span. Without it the development of the Japhethites may have been retarded in point of numbers, but the heart of their society as a consequence has been stronger and sounder in every natural tie,—more home-felt, more patriotic, more individually energetic and heroic in every hour of trial. It is the persistent operation and effect of this distinctively Japhethic sentiment, which his generic experience cannot penetrate, that makes the Asiatic astonished everywhere as he walks forth among us to see woman for the first time wholly emancipated from those fetters of social jealousy and distrust inflicted upon her by the conscious turpitude of her keepers in his

region of humanity, and free to act and judge for herself; yet not only morally safe in doing so, but fairer and truer in heart and purpose than all the queens of the seraglio. But to resume:—It is to this race that Noah's prophetic promise of enlargement applies. It is to this promise that the Apostle of the Gentiles refers when he speaks of the "*gathering in of the Gentiles*." Gathering in, to what?—Into—the tents of Shem!

The Irish narrative proceeds to state a prophetic guidance which led the Scythians to the British islands, which becomes all the more remarkable from its being wholly gratuitous, and no way essential to pure history; namely, that the Gadelians, after being driven out of Scythia by Pharaoh an Tuir, wandered for a period among the hostile nations, uncertain where to settle, and that in this extremity they consulted their chief Druid, Carcar, who, by his prophetic knowledge, informed them there was no country ordained for them to inhabit until they arrived on the coast of an island at the extreme west, which they themselves would never put foot on, but which would be enjoyed by their posterity. It is just possible that the early nations, and especially their priests, retained some knowledge of the prophecies of Noah as to the destiny of his three sons, as their mythology testifies to their acquaintance—wholly independent of the stream of Hebrew revelation—with most of the facts of patriarchal history. If so, the information given the Gadelians as a Japhethic race was little more than a reiteration of Genesis ix. 27: "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem," amplified, on the authority of chap. x. 5, into,—"*The inhabitants of the isles of the Gentiles shall dwell in the tents of Shem,*" and which has been so remark-

ably fulfilled by the Divine destiny and position of the inhabitants of the British Islands in modern experience. At all events, we shall find in the subsequent history now under treatment a most remarkable fulfilment of an apparently far less authoritative or important prophecy, which, treated even as a mere coincidence, remains not the less invested with an air of the marvellous.

After Milesius left Egypt, with his princess and adherents, he visited various countries, without effecting any settlement; and at length returned to his friends in Spain. Here remembering, or having his attention called to the prophetic intimation given to his grandfather by Carcar, he dispatched his uncle Ith, brother of his father Bilius, to pay a visit to the islands of the west, but died before the result of the mission was known.

Lugaid, the son of Ith, returning to Galicia with the remains of Ith's company, brought the information to Heber and Heremon, the sons of Milesius, that Ith, after being hospitably received by the three reigning kings of Ireland, and allowed to depart in peace, had been, on account of some incautious expressions he had uttered as to the charms of their country, jealously pursued at sea, overtaken, and, in an engagement with them, slain, with many of his followers, Lugaid having escaped with what remained. Heber and Heremon thereupon resolved to avenge the death of Ith, and landed with their friends and adherents shortly after with that object.

Being completely victorious, Heber and Heremon divided the kingdom of Ireland between them, Leinster and Munster falling to the lot of Heber, and Ulster and Connaught to that of Heremon. A dispute, however, was not long of occurring between

the two brothers; and its cause was the envy which the wife of Heber felt towards Heremon for the possession of one of three fertile valleys, which, in the division of the island, had fallen to the lot of the latter, the other two being within the dominions of Heber. The covetous lady of Heber would not be satisfied without the possession of all the three, and insisted so strongly on her wish being complied with, that she refused to share her husband's bed until he obtained possession for her of the object of her desire. Heber, thus instigated, was imprudent enough to make war against his brother; and, in a battle which ensued on the plain of Geisiol, in Leinster, lost his life; while Heremon, who had married Tea, the daughter of Ith, became, in consequence of this victory, *the first king of all Ireland*. In his descendants, with various intermissions, during which the line of Heber, and of Ir, another son of Milesius, and the line of Ith obtained temporary possession of the throne, the supreme monarchy continued down to 1175, when Heremon's lineal descendant, Roderick, *the last king of all Ireland*,—vanquished as much by the treason of Ireland to herself as by the power of England, had to repair to London, and do homage there to King Henry II., to save his hereditary province of Connaught from being taken from him in addition to the supreme sovereignty.

The descent of Roderick, last king of all Ireland, from Heremon, which is the longest line of descent of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and her royal race,—(in fact, the only complete genealogies in existence are through these Milesian kings; for though the Jew may boast of his descent from Abraham, he can no more give the steps of that descent than mankind in general can give the

successive steps of their descent from Noah; but it seems to be essential to the fulfilment of the specific promise of Noah to Japheth, which was personal as well as general, that the line of his descendants should be traceable down to the period of its fulfilment; and it is to the British Isles in special that the modern enlargement of Japheth and his occupation of the tents of Shem belongs),—is as follows; the kings of the line being in capitals, with the numbers pointing out their order in the succession of Irish kings prefixed to their names:—

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| 1. HEREMON, <i>first king of all Ireland.</i> | 59. UGAIN <i>More, or HUGONY, the Great, B.C. 421. Wife, Ceasair Crutha, daughter of the then king of France.</i> |
| 4. IRIAL. | |
| 5. ETHRIAL,
<i>Wrote the history of the Gadelian travels.</i> | 61. COBTAIG <i>Colmbreag. Meilam.</i> |
| 7. TIGHERMAS, <i>the idolator. Canbothath. Smiorgoill.</i> | 66. JARAN <i>Gleofathac.</i> |
| 11. FACHAD <i>Labruine.</i> | 68. CONLA <i>Cruaid Cealega.</i> |
| 13. AONGUS <i>Olmuaça, Won many battles against the Picts, Scots, and Britons.</i> | 69. OILIOLL <i>Caisiachla.</i> |
| | 71. EOCÁID <i>Foltleathan.</i> |
| | 73. AONGUS <i>Tuirimhea.</i> |
| | 76. EANDA <i>Aignac. Labra Luirc. Blathacta. Eamhuin.</i> |
| 15. ROTHECTA.
<i>Deon.</i> | <i>Roignein Ruad. Finloga. Fiorn.</i> |
| 27. SIORNA <i>Saogala. Oholla Olhoin.</i> | 85. EOCÓID <i>Feidloch. This king was presented with three sons, all at a birth. They were named Brias, Nar, and Lothar; but were all called Fincarnas, and from one of them is descended</i> |
| 30. GIALCHA. | |
| 32. NUADHA <i>Fion Fail.</i> | |
| 37. SIMEON <i>Breac.</i> | |
| 39. MUIREADHA <i>Balgra.</i> | |
| 48. FACHAD <i>Tolgra.</i> | |
| 52. DUAC <i>Luigrae. Eochaid Buardaig.</i> | |

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| 90. LUGHAIÐ <i>Reibdearg</i> , son
of one of the <i>Finearnas</i> . | Colman, or Colmanbra.
Suilhuc. |
| 92. CRINTHAN <i>Maduar</i> . | Conal <i>Guthbin</i> . |
| 95. FIACAID <i>Fionfachtna</i> . | Airmeada. |
| 98. TUATHAL <i>Teactmar</i> . | Diarmid. |
| 100. FEIDLIMED <i>Reactmar</i> . | Morrrough, or Murchad. |
| 102. CON <i>Ceadadac</i> . | 147. DANIEL. |
| 104. ART <i>Aonfir</i> . | 149. DONCADA, or DONAG.
Maobinanad. |
| 107. CORMAC <i>Ulfada</i> . | 154. MAOLSEACHLIN. |
| 109. CAIRBRE <i>Lífeahaire</i> . | 156. FLANN <i>Sionna</i> . |
| 111. FIACHAD <i>Streabthine</i> . | 161. MAOLSEACHLIN, or MA-
LACHY, — <i>contempo-</i>
<i>rary: Brian Borome</i>
<i>Connor, who intro-</i>
<i>duced surnames.</i> |
| 113. MUIREADHA <i>Tireac</i> . | Roger. |
| 115. EOCHAIÐ <i>Moidmeodan</i> . | 167. TURLOUGH. |
| 117. NIAL of the Nine Hos-
tages.
Cairbre, third son of
Nial.
Cormac <i>Caoch</i> . | 169. RODERICK. |
| 123. TUATHAL <i>Maolgarb</i> . | |

The preceding genealogy, it will be observed, is not the whole line of the kings of Ireland, nor even of the Heremon kings, but only the consecutive and recorded steps directly deducing the descent of Roderick from Heremon. There were 166 kings of all Ireland and one queen in all of the Milesian race, counting Heremon as the first and joint kings as one—one Firbolg or Belgic Dane and one Dane. Of these Milesian kings, however, only 46 occur in Roderick's genealogy, and each of these has his proper number in the line of kings prefixed to his name. The absent numbers, which break the sequence and indicate the kings not here named, were some of them also of the line of Heremon, though not ancestors of Roderick; but many of them were of the rival houses of Heber, Ir, and Ith, and it must be borne in mind, in judging of the integrity of this pedigree, that after every break in the line of kings occasioned by the father

not immediately preceding the son—and there are forty such breaks in the above line—the right to the succession on the ground of descent must have been at once publicly recognised, or must have been established to the satisfaction not of the new monarch's supporters only, but of his opponents and enemies also; and these facts being duly noted, the intrinsic evidence in favour of the authentic historical accuracy of the genealogy is stronger than that ordinarily furnished in such cases by general history. It is much better authenticated than the descent either of the Sicambrian kings or of the royal Saxon progenitors of the Anglo-Saxon kings. But this is not the whole case in its favour; for throughout the period embraced in this chronological range there were many noble and ambitious families, descendants of Milesius, engaged more or less in the contest for power; and in the line of every one of these who had the good fortune, at any portion of the time, to have a member on the supreme throne, exactly the same intrinsic evidence of integrity occurs. Thus it occurs in all the other royal families of the Heremon line, and in all the royal families of the Heber line—of the line of Ir, and of Ith—so that no single line had the matter all its own way; and an example of this may be furnished by the Heremon line from Laogaire, the sixtieth king, the eldest son of Ugaine More, the fifty-ninth king. Of Laogaire's descendants there are somewhere about thirty to forty generations from which some five kings only, and at widely occurring intervals, succeeded in mounting the supreme throne. Throughout all these generations Laogaire's descendants never disputed the genealogy of his brother Cobtaig's descendants, though they never abandoned and never failed to vindicate, when opportunity allowed, their stronger hereditary right

to the sovereign power. When the consecutive line of the kings alone is referred to, then, and found, as on examination it will be, to consist of members of *many* rival families at deadly enmity with and alternately slaying and supplanting each other, it will become irresistibly apparent to the critical investigator who allows his candour to rise above prejudice from the not unnaturally adverse influence of first impressions and *prima facie* probability, that the rival families whose names are embraced, and whose members are enrolled in the record of the Irish kings, could by no possibility have conspired either to create or connive at the composition of such a *Royal Roll*, or have been otherwise parties to its compilation in any way than at the public assemblages convened from time to time at Tara during the intervals of prosperity and peace, when leisure was found to revise and correct the national records and purge the roll of kings and princes of errors, frauds, and spurious pretensions. The intrinsic elements of which this record is composed preclude possibility of any other mode of composition. It could not have been compiled without the public and general consent of the families it embraced, meeting in council for the purpose, with the eyes of the whole nation upon them. Error under such circumstances could hardly occur, and the record, as might be expected, is consistently free from dubiety, and characteristic of its authorship—implicitly and nationally accepted, yet wholly exceptional and remarkable. Its intrinsic features are compatible in short with nothing but its own historical origin.

As might be expected, such a record is qualified to shed light upon other histories less carefully compiled, and by correcting them to reflect back additional authentication on itself. Its extraordi-

nary value in this respect will be singularly exemplified in a use to which we will at this point at once proceed to apply it. It is stated by some of the early Scottish historians, and among others Fordun, Boece, and Buchanan, that from thirty-four to forty kings of Scotland of Irish descent reigned in Dalriada before the time of Fergus Mac Erc, or Fergus II. as these historians make him. Modern historians of that country, having examined this subject under the light of all the materials at their command, have come to the conclusion that these kings previous to Fergus Mac Erc are entirely fictitious, and Dr. W. F. Skene, in his *Brochure*, "THE CORONATION STONE," (Edinb., 1869,) adopts and expresses the conclusion come to in the following terms:—"The forty kings are purely fabulous, but with Fergus Mac Erc the stream of fictitious narrative flows into that of history; for he is the first of the kings of Dalriada who founded the Scottish colony of Argyll in the sixth century, and the historic kings of Dalriada are now interwoven with fictitious monarchs in Boece's tale." (Pp. 14, 15.)

Dr. Skene here assumes Fergus I. to be the same with Fergus II. or Mac Erc, and the intermediate kings to be fictitious. The Irish historians, however, in their version of this portion of collateral history, have stated, without particularising them consecutively, that the Irish chiefs founded a colony in Albany or Scotland, and that one of these chiefs, Cairbre, called *Riada* from his Irish possessions, gave the name Dalriada to the Scottish colony, after his territory in Ireland. This colony afterwards obtained the name of Ergadia or Argyle, after Erc, the *father*, as the Scottish critics call him, of Fergus Mac Erc. The chief error of the Scottish

historians condemned by Dr. Skene and his friends is, that they mistook a colony for a kingdom, and began their northern royalty some thirty generations too soon. Taking Fordun's list of these kings, thirty-five in number, including Fergus I. and Fergus II., it will be found, on turning to the Irish genealogies, that the first thirteen of them, omitting the sixth, were not kings, but Irish princes in the Heremon line of descent, between Aongus Tuirimheah, the seventy-third king, and Eidersgeol, the eighty-seventh king of all Ireland; thus:—*

73. AONGUS *Tuirimhea*Fatacha *Fearmara*Oliolla *Euoronn*

Fearadach or Ferq 1st king of Dalriada, according to

Forda or Forga 2nd „ Fordun (B.C. 330 according

Maine 3rd „ to Boece and Buchanan.)

Arnidil 4th „

Rothrein 5th „

Threin 7th „

Rosin or Roisin 8th „

Sin or Suin 9th „

Deagha 10th „

Jar 11th „

Oilioll 12th „

Eogan 13th „

87. EIDERSGEOL 14th „

Thus making it apparent that the colony of Dalriada at this date was not, as Fordun has assumed, a Scottish kingdom, but merely a colony hereditary in a branch of the Heremon princes, of which some were kings of all Ireland, and not likely therefore to be reigning sovereigns in so small a territory as Dalriada must then have been, though sovereign

* See Keating, p. 286, *Pro tanto et inter alia*. Dermot O'Connor's Edition. London: Bettenham. 1723.

over it. But, pursuing this line still further, we have from the eighty-seventh to the eighty-ninth king of Ireland as follows :—

87. EIDERSGEOL	Fordun's 14th king.
89. CONAIRE <i>More</i>	„ 15th „

So that though an intermediate king of another line interposed between these two as king of all Ireland, this line retained its hereditary possession of Dalriada. Proceeding onward from the last of these to the hundred and third king of Ireland, we have as follows :—

89. CONAIRE <i>More</i>	Fordun's 15th king.	
Cairbre <i>Fionnmor</i>	„ 16th „	
Daire <i>Dornmor</i>	„ 17th „	
Cairbe <i>Cromciun</i>	„ 18th „	
Luigheach <i>Allathach</i>	„ 19th „	
Molla Lamba	„ 20th „	called by
(His wife <i>Cithne</i> or <i>Ethne</i>		Fordun
was a daughter of <i>Luig-</i>		Mogolama.
<i>haidh</i> , son of <i>Daire</i> .)		
103. CONAIRE	„ 21st „	

Whose son Cairbre *Rioghfhada* or *Riada*, Fordun's twenty-second king, gave the name of Dalriada to the colony, after his territory of Riada in Ireland.*

So far, then, criticism has thus aided us in eliciting the most complete and independent confirmation of Irish history from the history of a kindred people not remarkable for their eagerness to acknowledge an Irish origin; and we may now perhaps be permitted to add, that some of the earlier Scottish historical notices, dating as far back as the time of Alexander II. of that king-

* His Dalriadic descendants may have been independent of the Irish Monarchy.

dom, and consequently prior to A.D. 1249, state that Lorchus, about the year 443 B.C., took the first colony from Ireland to Scotland; and, if this be allowed, Fordun might have carried back his royal line by seven names more preceding Aongus *Tuirimhea*, and this time, with one exception, all really kings; that is—kings of all Ireland, viz.:—

60th king of Ireland	LAOGAIRE <i>Lorch</i> .
61st ,,	COBHTHAIG, his brother. Melige, son of Cobhthaig.
67th ,,	JARAN <i>Gleofathac</i> .
68th ,,	CONLA <i>Cruaid Cealgach</i> .
69th ,,	OILIOLL <i>Caishiacleac</i> .
71st ,,	EOCHADA <i>Foltleathan</i> , father of AONGUS <i>Tuirimheath</i> , before mentioned.

Fordun's 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, and 32nd kings of Dalriada are obviously Boece and Buchanan's 28th, 29th, 31st, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th kings respectively; and Fordun's 33rd and 34th kings are two known descendants of Cairbre Riada, his 22nd king, viz.,—

Eocha Muin-remair, and
Earch or Earca, his eldest son.

But the most amusing feature of all this historical darkness is the condition in which, to use the words of Dr. Skene, the stream of fictitious narrative flows into Scottish history with Fergus Mac Ere, as he is called; for who, after all, was this authentic personage? It is plain, from their very mode of naming and distinguishing him, that the Scottish historians do not know, otherwise they would not be guilty of naming him after his mother, and not after his father! The source of their confusion in this

instance is not difficult to find ; for they have here again blundered between two different individuals of similar name. There were two Eares or Earchas : one the eldest son of Eocha, *Munramhar*, and, according to Fordun, the predecessor of Fergus in the government of Dalriada ; the other Earcha, daughter of Loarne or Loare, who came from Scotland, and who was married to Muireadach, grandson, by Eogan his son, of the prominent Irish king Nial, of *the nine hostages*, whose genealogy we have already set forth. By her marriage with Muireadach this lady became mother of Mortough I., who, from A.D. 491 to 515, was king of all Ireland, and of Fergus II., king of Dalriadic Scotland, thenceforward called Erigadia after his mother, and now Argyle. The Irish historians have called both Mortough and his brother Fergus by the distinctive addition "son of Earcha," instead of "son of Muireadach," probably to distinguish them from some others with whom confusion might arise. But no such reason appears to have existed in Scotland, and the Scotch addition to the name of Fergus of *Mac Erc* as a patronymic creates a confusion of a different kind. The Irish historians also call this Fergus by the description of Fergus *More*. On the whole, then, the Scottish historians had better not too hastily discredit either Fordun or Boece and Buchanan. They had evidently hold of some fragments of history further authentication of which may yet appear. Irish history is clear and explicit where Scottish history is only dark and dubious ; and nothing can be more clear than that Fergus Mac Erc, the Scottish king, was great grandson of Nial of the nine hostages, king of all Ireland, and brother of Murtough, his successor on the Irish throne.

But it is necessary at this point to correct another

blunder of the Scottish historians which has given rise among them to a doubt as to the accuracy of the Heremon kings. They have an impression among them that Simeon *Breac*, the thirty-fifth of the Irish kings, brought a large colony to Ireland, and was the first founder of the Milesian race there, and that the historians of Ireland erroneously make forty kings of Ireland, (including joint kings,) before Simeon *Breac*, and so date the first of the Milesians about seven hundred years earlier than it should be. This Scottish historical error obviously arises, as in the case of Fergus I. and Fergus II., by their confounding *Breac*, the great grandfather of Milesius, and founder of the city of Braga in Spain, with Simeon Breac, who lived forty generations after. Braga was the parent city, and Breac, its founder, was also the first founder of the Galician or Gadelian settlement in Spain. Brigantia therefore would probably be a dependent or secondary city; and, being inland, the sons of Milesius would naturally set sail from Braga, the chief city, on coming to Ireland. In a Latin version of the expedition, with the place from which they sailed written in the ablative case, and as usual without any special preposition, Braga would readily be held *per expressum* to mean, not *from Braga*, but *with Breac*, and the Scottish historians thus taking *Breac* for the leader of the expedition, and running down the line of the Milesian kings for some corresponding son of Milo, (king of Spain, as they call him,) would naturally find no one of the name of Breac till they reached Simeon *Breac*, who would be at once fixed on by them as the first who sailed from Spain into Ireland; and lead to their blundering the chronology by seven hundred years. This only

again shows how accurate the Irish genealogy is, and how valuable it becomes as a trustworthy means of correcting historical errors. In short, if—instead of disseminating a gratuitously false impression, by which, we must confess, we were not entirely uninfected at the time of taking up the present task of revision—our English and Scottish historians had only given a little more candid consideration to early Irish history, they would long since have become much better acquainted with their own. No doubt, the ruthless abstraction and loss by Edward I. of the Scottish records is much to blame for this ; but as another instance of their consequent inaccuracy, and the superior condition of Irish History, the importance and relevancy of the subject itself will justify our giving the following:—

Dr. Skene, in his Work on “The Coronation Stone,” comes to the conclusion that the Lia Fail of Irish tradition is not the same stone which was taken from Scone, in Scotland, to Westminster Abbey, by Edward I. ; but that the Irish Stone of Destiny is still at Tara, or, at all events, was there in the eleventh century ; and that the Scotch stone was not in Argyll during the Irish colony of Dalriada. He also states that the oldest mention he has been able to find of the legend by the Scottish chroniclers is by Baldred Bisset, in his document called “*Processus Balderi contra figmenta Regis Angliæ*,” compiled in 1301. And he further adduces geological evidence to show that the stone itself, which is old red sandstone, or of the description called freestone by builders, is such stone as is common in the neighbourhood of Scone. As to the lithological portion of this question we must content ourselves with the observation that it would be extremely difficult to take up any piece of ordinary stone in

northern Europe, and remove it to another country of Europe, within nearly the same latitude, in which similar stone could not be found somewhere not very distant; and that, the Irish tradition being that the Lia Fail was brought by the Danonians, or Danes, from Scandinavia, it militates in no degree against the identity of the stone itself that stone of similar lithological character may be found at Scone. The old red sandstone is a somewhat extensively distributed geological formation. But it is with Dr. Skene's other conclusions that we shall seriously deal; and before referring to facts and evidence against them, we shall ask a moment's attention to their intrinsic probability. In the first place, why was the stone called the Lia Fail from the earliest times, if the Irish prophecy embodied in the Celtic words were not connected with it from the very period when it received its name, which is as old as the associated name of Ireland itself,—*Inis Fail*, or the Island of Destiny? The Irish stone had two names,—the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, and *Cloch-na-Cineamhna*, or Stone of Fate. Its name was therefore not given without a meaning or purpose. The only meaning ever attached to the name by the Irish was that expressed in the native Irish words:—

“*Cineadh Scuit Saor an fine
Munab breag an fhaisdine
Mar abhfuigid an Liagh Fail
Dlighid flaithios do ghabhail.*”

These words are asserted by both Keating and Charles O'Connor to have embodied the national tradition of Ireland and the only tradition ever known in connexion with the subject. Yet we are asked to believe that these prophetic words con-

nected with the national tradition and name of the Irish stone were not known in Ireland, nor the prophecy they embody, until after 1301, when the Scottish Coronation Stone was in Westminster Abbey. What probability was there at that period in favour of the stone to tempt a modern rhymist to be prophetic? Is it not much more probable that by that time both Irish and Scotch had lost all faith in it? In 1301 it had been five years in the seat of the English coronation chair at Westminster. Conceding, therefore, Dr. Skene's whole conclusions for the moment, would it not have required a bold prophetic spirit to risk upon it then the leonine lines:—

*“Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.”*

“Fate must prevail!—This Lia Fail,—
Where'er the stone, a Scot shall throne!”

And would it not be still more strange if the prophecy after all came to be fulfilled? Are we to believe with Dr. Skene, that there were two stones, and that the Irish were foolish enough after 1301 to invent their prophecy for their imbecile stone, then experiencing a long oblivion of inglorious neglect at Tara; and that they in pure poverty of thought had to borrow the futile idea thrown by the Scottish historians after their lost stone at Westminster? It would have been worth while for the Irish people, who so readily adopted the prophecy, if they had possessed any real foresight, to have taken an additional leaf from Scottish history, and introduced the Tara stone to the notice of royal English collectors of geological curiosities before risking prophetic skill at that late date. In short, if we have not two coronation

stones with the same prophecy attached to each,—the stones being different, yet the prophecies identical,—or the Irish people, adopting a prophecy about their Lia Fail after it had fallen into complete disuetude and neglect, we are shut up to the conclusion that the prophecy existed in connexion with the Irish stone before A.D. 554, or more than thirteen hundred years ago; *for after that year no Irish king sat at Tara again*; (see p. 56 of the present History;) and the Lia Fail, if it remained at Tara, as assumed by Dr. Skene, was from that time treated with indifference by the Irish sovereigns and people. The Irish account of the stone, however, is, that the Danonians or Danes, having brought it with them from Scandinavia before the advent of the Milesians in Ireland, it was kept at Cashel, where the kings of Munster were crowned upon it until it was removed to Tara for the coronation of the Irish kings: that it remained there until, in the beginning of the sixth century, Fergus, son of Earca and brother of the then reigning monarch, Murtoch, having become king of the Irish colonies in Dalriada in Albany, sent over to his brother for the Lia stone, which was sent him by Murtoch for his coronation, and never returned. This corresponds perfectly in point of time with the fact just mentioned, that after 554, or the middle of the sixth century, no Irish king sat at Tara. If the Lia Fail had been there they would have continued to use it, and on removing from Tara they would have removed it. But it is contrary to Keating, O'Flaherty, Ware, Dr. O'Connor, Charles O'Connor, and all the other best-informed Irish antiquaries, that the pillar stone now on the Hill of Tara, which is six feet high above the ground, and many feet below it, and of ponderous weight, is the Lia

Fail. It is supposed rather to be the Lia-na-bh Fian, or stone of the Fian, Fenian, or Phœnicians, as connected with some of the Fenian warriors of the old writers. After the year 554 the Irish kings reigned at different places; but there is no account of their coronation being at any one particular place, or of the Lia Fail being removed from place to place, nor of its possession by any one family of kings. Yet it was part of the Irish tradition, as Dr. Skene allows, that the stone emitted a peculiar sound (the sound was called *Ges*, signifying a spell or charm, pointing to some Druidical piece of priestcraft) when a legitimate king was inaugurated. The Irish hold the tradition that it refused to utter this sound from the beginning of the first century till the inauguration of Con of a Hundred Battles. It is not likely, therefore, that the stone could have fallen into desuetude from the sixth century downwards, if it still remained in Ireland, nor that the prophecy could have been invented after it had done so. We are thus by independent national and historical facts shut up to the conclusions that the prophecy is as old as the Irish coronations at Tara—that the '*Ni fallat*' embodiment of it, so far as of more modern date, merely modernized one expression of the prophecy, but not the prophecy itself,—that the stone must have left Ireland before the end of the sixth century, as it was never again used there, and that the *Ni fallat fatum* of the Scone stone is identical with the Irish prophecy as to the Tara stone, or rather an adaptation of it to the Scone stone; or that the two stones are identical. That the latter is the more probable would be only strengthened if, as Dr. Skene supposes, the *Ni fallat* version was not written till after 1301; for it was certainly to all immediate or prospective appearance

then too late to adapt it to the Scone stone, if different from the Tara stone, with the purpose of then inaugurating a prophecy for the Scone stone. There was not so much wonder about the prophecy before then ; for it had generally, if not wholly, been the cause of its own fulfilment previously ; but at that time there was every hazard, and no immediate prestige to the prophet.

But there is a short Scotch Chronicle in Latin verse written in the reign of Alexander the Second, and therefore prior to A.D. 1249, appended to several copies of the *Scoti Chronicon*, which gives an account of Queen Scota, the wife of Galtha, a noble Scythian, who came from Egypt to Spain with the marble chair, or Jacob's stone, on which he slept in the field of Luz ; and that in 1002, years after his race had been propagated in Spain, Milo, king of the Spaniards, who had many great sons, gave his son, Simeon Breac, the said stone of Galthelas as a special present, foretelling him that his offspring should reign wherever that stone was placed ; and Simeon sailed with the stone to Ireland, where they stayed many years, till the valiant Lorus brought a colony of them over to Ergadia, or Argyle, A.M. 3561, or B.C. 443, where this nation flourished many years under the law of nature, and without a king, till a bold man called Fergus brought the aforesaid stone to Argyle, and became the first king of the Scots. This account, therefore, which is nearly a century earlier than the compilation of Baldred Bisset, relieves us of any reason for searching after 1301 for the invention of the prophecy, and effectually disposes of Dr. Skene's premises, as well as his conclusions.*

* Dr. Skene makes the objection, that the Lia Fail is not mentioned in the accounts of the solemn rites by which St.

The amount of blended fact and fiction in this last account of the Lia Fail will be obvious from our preceding explanations. There is a confusion between the two Scotas, a confusion between the two Breacs, an admission that the Scotch stone,—Jacob's *marble* chair, by a rhetorical flourish—marble, yet sandstone, a chair, and yet a pillow!—went first to Ireland; that Lorus (Laoghaire Lorek) first colonised Ergadia; and that a bold man, Fergus, first brought the stone to Argyle, and became the first king of the Scots in Scotland. This Columba constituted Aidan king of the Scots of Ergadia. But this objection is illogical in itself, and derives its whole importance from the fact, that the supposed difficulty has been inadequately met when there was really nothing to meet. It does not follow that the Lia Fail was not used at Aidan's coronation merely because that fact is not mentioned by those who describe St. Columba's part in the ceremony. It might as well be inferred that Aidan, though a king, had no throne, or chair of state, or royal seat. If the Lia Fail was used after its previous introduction by Fergus, it would be used *as a matter of course*, and therefore not as a specially or exeptional feature. Who, after the eye-witnesses are dead, could say whether it was used at the coronation of Her present Majesty? Is there any positive record of the fact? How many of those present observed whether it was there or not? How many knew or remembered anything about it? If the *ges* or sound it gave out had not been an imposture from the outset, perhaps it might have been able and expected to make its own report; but really one might as well say, that because it made no noise it could neither be heard nor heard of, and therefore it was not there! If it was not in St. Columba's foreshadowing vision—and he might have omitted to think of it on that transcendent occasion—it might in consequence have been excluded from the ceremony as savouring of superstition; for the good saint, if all that is recorded of him be true, was bigot enough to like no superstitions but his own. But any positive deduction is quite as justifiable one way as the other.

is in the high *perfervidum* strain ! The lithological character of the stone must have been well enough known in Scotland in the reign of Alexander II. ; and even Jacob must have been hard headed indeed, if he could not perceive a geological difference adverse to the Scottish poet's hyperbole, in favour of the freestone. But Jacob, who was a man of ingenuity, folded his mantle under his head, we may fairly assume, and was too sagacious a pilgrim not to know when to boil his peas.

But whether the prophecy of the Lia Fail, or Scots' Coronation Stone, was composed after 1301, under the least likely of then present or prospective conditions with regard to its fulfilment, or previous to the sixth century, when Irish kings ceased to sit at Tara—the fulfilment of the prophecy itself is not the less remarkable, for the Scotch prophecy was fulfilled in the person of James VI., many generations after the prophecy itself, and the older, or Irish prophecy, was fulfilled much earlier, as we shall show in its proper place in this history, in the person of Edward IV.

It is appropriate to the continuity of the subject, therefore, here to state, that while Roderic, the last king of Ireland, was reduced to the humiliation of doing homage to Henry II., who had brought the influence of the Pope to bear against and suppress the independence of Ireland ; and in consequence of this submission was allowed to retain his private hereditary province or kingdom of Connaught—the right to this last possession of the supreme monarchs of Ireland passed by the marriage of Roderic's descendants into the families of the English settlers as follows :—William Fitz Adelem de Burgh or de Burgo, and Hugh de Lacy, being sent by Henry to receive the submission of Roderick and also of the king of Munster, Adelem was entrusted with the

government of Wexford, and was subsequently, in 1177, appointed governor of Ireland; John de Courcy, Robert Fitz Stephen, and Miles de Cogan being sent with him as assistants and counsellors. In 1178, Fitz Adelem de Burgh was recalled to England, and succeeded in the government of Ireland by Hugh de Lacy, who was made also governor of Dublin, but (1181) lost that appointment in consequence of his having without king Henry's consent *married a daughter of Roderic*, the king of Connaught and ex-monarch of all Ireland, and so acquired for himself an interest in the hereditary succession to the Irish monarchy. Fitz Adelem de Burgh had, however, during his stay in Ireland acquired great part of Roderic's province of Connaught, which was confirmed to him in 1179, and remained in his family. He was married to Isabel, a natural daughter of Richard Cœur de Leon, and widow of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, from which circumstance he probably took the name of Fitz Adelem. By her he had a son, Richard de Burgh, surnamed the great, to whom king John granted, September 17th, 1215, all the lands of Connaught held by his father of the crown. This Richard de Burgh *married Una or Agnes, daughter of Hugh or Aedh O'Connor, eldest son of Cathel O'Connor (surnamed Crob-derg, or the Red-handed, king of Connaught,) and grandson of Roderic, the last king of all Ireland.* He was made lord of Connaught, and in 1218 had confirmed to him by Henry III., and to his heirs after the death of the then king of Connaught his whole previous possessions in that province. In right of this marriage De Burgh acquired *the main hereditary right to the throne of Ireland*; and, on June 12th, 1225, a writ was directed to William Earl Marshal, Lord Justice

to seize on *the whole of Connaught*, then declared to be forfeited by Feidlim O'Connor, the brother of Hugh and uncle of De Burgh's wife, and to deliver it to Richard de Burgh at the rent of three hundred marcs yearly for the first five years, and thereafter for five hundred marcs yearly. This Richard de Burgh was, on March 10th, 1227, made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1232 built the castle of Galway.

This alliance of king Roderic's descendant with De Burgh was in no degree derogatory to the ancestral honours and dignity even of the heiress of Heremon. Adelem de Burgh, Richard's grandfather, was grandson of Roger de Burgh, earl of Cornwall, the uterine and *legitimate* brother and companion in arms of William the Conqueror. But even this shed no lustre on the De Burghs, who were themselves independently descended from Charlemagne, and whose ancestors had therefore played a more conspicuous and illustrious part in the affairs of Europe and the history of the world than anything which had been accomplished under the insular monarchy of Ireland.

Richard de Burgh died about 1243, and was succeeded by Walter lord of Connaught—the offspring of his marriage with Una—who became also earl of Ulster in right of his own marriage with Maud, daughter and heiress of Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, by Emeline his wife, daughter of Walter de Riddlesford, lord of Bray. This Maud de Lacy was also a descendant of Heremon by that marriage of her grandfather Hugh de Lacy with the daughter of king Roderic, for which he, in 1181, lost the government of Dublin, as already mentioned. The heir of Walter de Burgh and Maud de Lacy was Richard de Burgh, second earl of Ulster, called the

red earl, whose wife was Margaret, daughter of John de Burgh, baron of Launville, son of John, grandson of John, the great grandson of Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent—the greatest subject in Europe during the reigns of king John and Henry III., and for some time regent of England. Among the offspring of this marriage of the red earl was Ellen, his eldest daughter, who married, in 1302, Robert the Bruce, king of Scotland, and became mother of David II. of that kingdom. The second son of the red earl's marriage was John de Burgh, who married Elizabeth, third daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford and Gloucester, by his second wife, the princess Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward III. of England. Gilbert de Clare was a lineal descendant of Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, by his wife Eva, the beautiful daughter of Dermot Mac Morragh, king of Leinster, of the Heremon line. The offspring of the princess Joan and John de Burgh was William de Burgh, third earl of Ulster, who married Maud, third daughter of Henry Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster. How by these marriages the heirs of the line of Heremon at length came to the English, and ultimately to the British throne, and by at least one of the most remarkable coincidences in history, completely fulfilled the prophetic tradition of the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, we shall see in its proper place in the History of Ireland, to which, thus authenticated in its earlier stages, we now return.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1 TO 427.

THE facts set forth in the preceding chapter sufficiently rescue the main current of Irish History from dubiety and place it on as fair and reasonable a basis as that occupied by any consecutive record of equal antiquity. Applying the erroneous allusions of Scottish writers to the founding of the city of Braga, in Spanish Galicia, instead of to Simeon *Breac*, whose sobriquet has obviously been mistaken by them for his name; and connecting it with the fact recorded by the Irish Bards that in Heremon's time the Picts—a German branch of the Scythians it is supposed—arrived on the East coast of Ireland, and, proposing to settle there, were dissuaded from doing so, and induced to seek for a more secure possession in the islands to the north; and that thereupon they took possession of the Hebrides, or Western Islands of Scotland, accompanied by Milesian wives, with whom they had been allowed to marry, and from thence extended their settlements to the mainland of Scotland, we have thus a series of reasonable facts supported by numerous collateral circumstances which aid in authenticating Milesian history back to about one thousand four hundred years before the Christian era.

The Picts, though ultimately conquered, were not exterminated but an amalgamated people, and their whole historic memories and traditions cannot have absolutely perished. After effecting their first settlements in the Western Isles, or Scottish Hebrides, they would naturally form a basis there for further accessions of their continental kinsmen; and thus a band of adventurers, too feeble to interfere seriously with the Milesian conquests in Ireland at the outset, and easily diverted from it by a friendly suggestion, would gradually become sufficiently

powerful to undertake the subjugation of the Scottish mainland, and occupy themselves by consolidating their supremacy there while the Milesians were equally busy with their new Hibernian dominions. It is probably to some tradition handed down by them and their Milesian wives that we owe the Scottish version, dimmed by antiquity, and muddled by ineffective verification, that the Milesian settlers sailed *with* instead of *from* Braga, and arrived first in Ireland and afterwards in Scotland,—a tradition to which subsequent facts were confusedly and inconsecutively added in an age when men had to accept facts and circumstances much as they got them,—the means of authentication and correction being rarely convenient to the hand.

That the Milesians maintained a commercial correspondence with their Galician kinsmen in Spain for many ages is certain; and that the tide of Phœnician enterprise mingled its current with this commerce is also manifest from many recorded evidences which time has fortunately spared. The Phœnician merchants appear to have established their marts wherever they traded, and, no doubt, they had quarters and storehouses in every commercial city of any importance with which they established an intercourse. Extending their transactions from their Galician city, Corunna, they could scarcely fail to come into contact with their neighbours the Spanish Gadelians or Galicians wherever they went; and, so far as mutually interested in the arts of peace, we can reasonably believe that they mingled with, aided, and expanded the intelligence of each other. Though it is not improbable that commercial bargains led to quarrels, which these merchant warriors knew also how to deal with *cum ense*, yet long intervals of tranquil intercourse must have

occurred, of which the day books, ledgers, and commercial correspondence of these times, even had they been spared to us, would have furnished no very interesting record to the reader of a general work. But these details of Phœnician history have been swept into oblivion—proud as was the position once occupied by Tyre—"the crowning city, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth;" and "the inhabitants of the *Isle*, whom the merchants of Zidon that passed over the sea replenished," have lost the records of her intercourse, and that page of their history is proportionately dim. What the Phœnicians achieved in Ireland while yet peaceful and friendly, or when—ultimately driven to their ships and flying from Phœnicia, Carthage, and the Mediterranean generally—they were compelled with sword in hand to carve their way to new settlements in the north of Europe, no longer to be mere ports of intercourse, but places of habitation, our materials do not afford us adequate means to say. We proceed, therefore, to that period on which contemporaneous history favours us by shedding a better light. A body of Roman troops was led, by Julius Agricola, A.D. 83, into Britain, where Tacitus, a celebrated Roman historian, says, that one of the petty kings of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly from his kingdom by some domestic feud, was received graciously by Agricola, who was then revolving in his thoughts the conquest of Ireland. The Irish seem, however, to have been but little apprehensive of invasion; for even at a time when the coast opposite to their shores was lined with Roman troops, the Irish monarch undertook an expedition to Britain to aid his Pictish allies, and returned to his dominions laden with booty.

The expeditions of the Irish were not always of a warlike nature—but frequently for the purpose of holding commerce with surrounding nations. Tacitus, A.D. 99, declares distinctly that “the ports of Ireland were better known than those of Britain.” She had also much internal traffic, and for that purpose a great commercial road, having walls on either side, was carried along the boundaries of the people anciently called the Autori, from Galway, by the borders of Leinster, to Dublin. The likelihood that such early commerce existed in this island, is strengthened by the fact that agriculture was well understood; as is evinced by traces of the plough being found under deep bogs—which having been cut away, a lower stratum of ground formerly cultivated was discovered—and also on mountains which have not for ages been brought under tillage. The Irish names of the ancient districts were evidently given by a people acquainted with the nature of soils; whilst implements found in various parts of the country, and querns of freestone, at once evince their use and their antiquity. The mode of ploughing was by the tail, and in A.D. 1612, a fine of sixteen shillings being levied on every plough so drawn, in one year the sum amounted to eight hundred and seventy pounds. The corn was burned previously to its being thrashed, as is still the custom in the western isles of Scotland.

The money in use amongst the ancient Irish, like that of the eastern nations from whom they were descended, was stamped with the representation of an animal, a custom supposed to have originated when animals themselves ceased to be given in barter; and supposed to be alluded to in the term used for the money paid by Jacob for the piece of ground he purchased from Hamor.—Gen. xxxiii. 19. The earliest coin seems to have been the *sgrea-*

bal, on which is figured the representation of a horse; the *Foing*, a thin piece of gold or silver, and the *Toiké*, made of some metal not known at present.

On the death of Crimthan, A.D. 82, his son Fia-dach succeeded him, when the Fir Bolgs, whose chief settlement was in Connaught, resolving to liberate themselves from the subjection in which they were kept by the supreme monarch, took the opportunity of a great public meeting in Connaught to strike a decisive blow. A massacre of all the chieftains there was the signal for a successful revolt throughout the kingdom; and about A.D. 90, Carbry, a prince of their own race, was raised to the dignity of supreme monarch. His son Moran, however, with a disinterestedness hardly to be paralleled, resigned the crown to Feredach, son of Crimthan, A.D. 95, and contented himself with the office of chief justice. From the fame acquired by his upright decisions arose the fable of the *Iodh Moran*, or Moran's Collar, which is said to have been worn by the Irish judges, and to have given warning, by increased pressure around the neck of the wearer, whenever he was about to pronounce an unjust sentence.

During the reign of Feredach, who is represented as a wise and virtuous prince, the country remained in peace; but after his death, dissensions broke out, which ended in the assassination of Fiach, his successor, and the usurpation of the throne, in A.D. 126, by Elim, king of Ulster. He did not, however, long enjoy the fruit of his wickedness; for after a lapse of only four years, Tuathal, son to the murdered sovereign, arriving from Scotland at the head of a numerous army, was crowned supreme monarch at Tara, A.D. 130.

Tuathal, who fought eighty five battles for the

crown, in one of which the usurper, Elim, was slain, was both wise and active : he ordered a palace to be built in each province, and established some important regulations regarding religion and manners. During his reign a tract of land was separated, to be the peculiar property of the crown, from each of the four provinces, which met together at a certain place, altogether forming what are now called the counties of *Meath*. In addition to the triennial council at Tara, he ordered three general assemblies to be held annually—one at Tlachta, near Athboy, in the county of Meath, on the night when the sacred fires were lighted to Samhuin; another on the hill of Usneach, in Westmeath, on the day of Bel's fire; and a third on the plains of Tailten, now Telltown, in the county of Meath, midway between the towns of Kells and Navan, where yearly festivities had long been observed, having been instituted by a Danonian king, called Lugh, in honour of *Tailtea*, a princess who had superintended his education.

The latter days of Tuathal were embittered by domestic anxiety. One of his daughters had been married to Achy, king of Leinster, who pretending, about a year after the nuptials, that she was dead, paid his addresses successfully to her more beautiful sister. On the arrival, however, of the young princess in Leinster, she discovered that the queen was still living, and the shock caused her immediate death, and that of her sister, who pined away in sorrow and indignation at her husband's perfidy. The offence for which the king of Leinster alone should have been punished, was visited on all his subjects. Tuathal carried fire and sword into his province; and its inhabitants, to appease his wrath, consented to pay an annual tribute of a certain number of cows, hogs, sheep, silver, and *copper cauldrons*. This tax, which for more than

Five hundred years was a source of continual dispute, was known by the name of the *Boruhma Laighean*, the Borumean tribute of Leinster. Tuathal having reigned 34 years, was assassinated by Fedhlim, a petty prince, who, on acquiring the sovereignty, in 164, turned his thoughts towards the regulation of its domestic policy: he enacted a remarkable law, by which it was permitted that crimes which had hitherto been punishable by exact restitution, might be commuted by a fine, which was called an *eric*, or mulct.

Fedhlim, surnamed the lawgiver, after a short reign, was succeeded by his son, Conn, surnamed "of the Hundred Battles," about A.D. 171. During the period of his sway, the country was in a state of perpetual warfare. Soon after his accession, he assisted Aengus, the king of Munster, of the race of Heremon, in recovering his throne, from which he had been driven by Eogan, a descendant of Heber, who was the rightful heir. Eogan, being vanquished, retired to Spain, where having collected a numerous army, he returned to Ireland, and not only defeated Conn, but obliged him to consent to allow him an equal share of the sovereignty. Ireland was accordingly divided into two great parts, separated by the river Liffey, and a line of hills extending from Dublin to Galway, distinguished by the names of *Leath Conn*, or Conn's half, and *Leath Mogha*, or Eogan's half. Conn was soon after this transaction assassinated by fifty men, disguised as women, and was succeeded by Conary the Second, about A.D. 191.

From this Conary sprang that race of chieftains who, under the title of the Dalriadic Kings, supplied Albany, the modern Scotland, with her first Scottish rulers. Carbry Riada, son of Conary the Second, by the daughter of Conn, about the middle of the third century established a settlement in Argyleshire.

which taking the name of its founder's Irish territory, became in time the kingdom of Dalriada, and finally extended its dominion over the whole of Scotland.

Conary having, after a long, though uneventful reign, been assassinated, like too many of his predecessors, the throne was successively occupied by Art and Mac Con, upon whose murder, A.D. 254, the states assembled at Tara to elect a sovereign. The foremost candidates were Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and Feargus, prince of Ulster. Whilst feasting and revelry gladdened "Tara's Halls," Feargus treacherously contrived to have Cormac's beard and hair set on fire, by which, according to the Irish law, he became disqualified from reigning, as the sovereign was required to be "perfect in all his parts." Not daring to appear thus disgraced before his subjects, Cormac lived for a year in entire seclusion; but when his hair had again grown long, he invaded Leinster, at the head of a powerful army. The combatants fought valiantly, but fortune favoured Cormac; he gained a decisive victory, and was, with great splendour, proclaimed sovereign of Ireland. He was the most accomplished of the Milesian princes: he founded three academies at Tara, and ordered that the annals of the kingdom, and more particularly the Psalter of Tara, should undergo strict and careful revision. The tragical termination of his reign was unsuited to its brilliant commencement. Ceallach his son having carried off the niece of an Irish chieftain, and conveyed her to Tara, the father pursued, and arriving there after sunset, when it was contrary to law to appear armed, he took down, from the place where it hung, the spear of Cormac, with which he killed the offender on the spot; but in drawing back the weapon with violence, he struck the monarch in the eye, which he lost, and

by this accident becoming disqualified to reign, he resigned the throne to his son, Carbry the Second.

In the reign of Carbry, the Irish militia, embodied it is said by the Milesian Brothers, attained such celebrity under its commander, the renowned Fionn Mac Cumhaill, as formed the ground-work of many heroic poems of the bards.

The qualifications requisite for obtaining admittance into that formidable band were various and peculiar; amongst others it was necessary that the candidate should possess a poetical genius, that he should defend himself unhurt from the javelins of nine men, that he should devote himself especially to the protection of women, that he should run through a wood, pursued by a company of militia, without being overtaken, that he should leap over a tree as high as his forehead, and stoop under another as low as his knee, and that he should never fly before nine men of any other country.

Carbry the Second reigned for seventeen years; and during his administration, this militia, which had become formidable to government by the power which it had attained, was put down by force. It had been for some time divided into two companies, called the Clan Morna and the Clan Boisgne, which fiercely contended for the right of precedence. To so great a height had the insolence of the Clan Boisgne risen, as to lead them to open defiance of the sovereign. A battle—the usual mode of deciding such contentions—was the consequence, in which the monarch was slain, but the rebellious clan was entirely defeated.

It has been already mentioned, that the Picts who had settled in North Britain, had taken wives from Ireland; the friendship between the two nations had been kept alive by constant intercourse, and though

occasionally led away by jealousy, the Irish were usually ready to assist their Pictish allies. To defend themselves from the inroads made on them by these united forces, the Romans, who were established in southern Caledonia, had, at different intervals, during the second and third centuries, erected three great walls, whose remains are yet visible, on the northern frontier of their province. Those incursions became, however, so destructive, that in the middle of the fourth century, the son of the Roman emperor, Constantine the Great, was sent over to repel them; and, subsequently, Theodosius, the celebrated Roman general, was dispatched against the united forces, both of the Picts and the Scots of Ireland, who were no less active than their brethren of Albany. Theodosius did not invade the country, but his fleet chased them into their own northern harbours.

After the death of Carbry, in 271, the throne was occupied successively by Fiach, Colla-Huais, Muredach, Caolbach, and Achy Moimedan, each of whom perished by the sword; while in civil war the country was laid waste, and Emania, the "stately palace" of the kings of Ulster, was entirely destroyed by flames. Of what materials this edifice, termed by the early annalists a "stately palace," was constructed, is rather doubtful. The earliest dwellings of the Irish were, like those in England, formed of wicker-work; at what period lime and stone building was introduced into this country, has been questioned; but that it was previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion, seems certain, from the facts that the ancient Irish language contains names for different species of lime and stone architecture, and that in the Brehon laws, minute directions are given regarding various kinds of masonry. Ptolemy, speaking of Ireland, B.C. 104, states that

“it contains several *cities* ;” and in A.D. 964, Edgar king of England, who invaded this country, mentions Dublin as “a noble city,” an epithet which he would hardly have bestowed on a village of hurdle cabins. The probability seems to be, that there were some lime and stone edifices, though the most of the dwelling houses were constructed of mud walls, wattle and plaister, or of smooth split trunks of trees, thatched with reeds, as Bede, A.D. 731, says was the manner of the Scots and the Irish.

The same mode of building the dwellings of the *villains* or serfs prevailed in England down to a late period, and even yet, many wood and plaster houses remain in that kingdom.

The wills of several of the princes who lived in those early times, whose “testaments” have been preserved in “the Books,” afford curious instances of the species of property which was then esteemed of paramount value.

In the book of “Ballymote,” a princely testator bequeaths to some of his sons, shields, to others, ships, chariots, and highly ornamented swords. To one is left his father’s “benediction” only, because “he was a weak man, and had been induced to give away a tract of land which he had promised in his sleep !” To the youngest he wills two chess-boards and ten backgammon-tables, observing that “neither towns nor lands would be of any use to him, as he employed all his time in gambling.”

Chess appears to have been a game particularly popular amongst the Irish ; insomuch that, in one of the Brehon laws, a tax which had been levied by the supreme monarch on each of the provinces, was ordered to be paid partly in chess-boards and complete sets of men. Every biatach, or innkeeper, was obliged to furnish travellers, gratis, with salt, provisions,

lodging, and a chess-board; and in the bardic descriptions of Teamor, or Tara, the *Fidchealloigh*, or chess-players, are included among the officers of the royal household.

Another favourite amusement was a game called *Falmer*, which was played by three persons, who threw the dice alternately. The love for *backgammon* appears to have descended to a very recent period amongst the lower orders of the Irish, as the late General Vallancey mentions, that in the southern parts of the country he had seen the peasantry deeply engaged at this game, playing it in the open air, upon squares which had been cut for the purpose in the grassy sward.

About the year 396, the sceptre devolved to Niall, who was surnamed "*Niall of the Nine Hostages*," from his having kept nine hostages—four from Scotland and five from Ireland—as pledges for the peaceable conduct of each of these countries.

The Albanian settlement being at this time particularly harassed by its Pictish neighbours, applied in its distress to Niall, who crossed over with an army of sufficient power to awe the Picts into submission without having recourse to a trial of strength. At the request of the Albanians, he changed the name of their country to Scotia, and that it might be distinguished from Ireland, which was also called Scotia, he added to the colony the appellation of *Minor*. Till this period it had borne the title of Albania.

Niall also led a powerful army into France, where he committed considerable devastation, and plundered the whole district of the Loire. It was in one of those expeditions that a large body of captives was brought into Ireland, by this monarch, amongst whom was the youth afterwards so well known by the name of ST. PATRICK.

The life of Niall seems to have been passed in successive expeditions into Scotland, England, and France. In one of those he met his death, from the hand of Eocaidh, a Leinster prince, whom he had exasperated by various acts of hostility and oppression. Eocaidh, burning with revenge, offered himself as a volunteer in the ranks of some Scottish allies, who formed a part of the army of Niall. The monarch, who soon became apprised of the fact, refused to admit him to his presence. But this precaution was insufficient; Eocaidh watched until a moment favourable for vengeance arrived, and as Niall one day rested himself, reclining on the banks of the Loire, an arrow from the bow of the treacherous prince of Leinster pierced him to the heart.

Niall was succeeded, A.D. 398, by his nephew, Dathy, who was remarkable for personal activity. In his reign flourished Ailbe, Declan, Kieran, and Ibar, men of deep piety and learning.

About the year 416, a seminary was founded by Ailbe, at Emly, in the county of Tipperary; by Declan, at Ardmore, in Waterford; by Kieran, in the King's County; and by Ibar, in Wexford. There the pure doctrines of Christianity were taught; and to those seminaries, Archbishop Ussher affirms, numbers, both of natives and foreigners, resorted to be instructed "in religion and letters." Dathy, like his immediate predecessor, carried his arms into France, where, at the foot of the Alps, his ambitious career was ended by a flash of lightning. This, the last pagan prince of the country, was mourned and interred according to those ancient customs which have descended from heathen to Christian Ireland, and which bear a remarkable resemblance to those which are observed amongst the oriental nations. The feet of the corpse being duly placed towards the east, tapers were

lighted around it; and a number of hired mourners, designated "*Keenyers*," then entering the chamber of death, raised that wild and mournful cry, "from which," says Holingshed, "sprang the expression, 'to *weepe Irish*.'" The modes of sepulture usual in this country were various; sometimes the body was burned; at others, it was interred under a hillock, which was called "a funeral mount;" occasionally it was laid under a *cairn*, which differed from the funeral mount, in being made of stones intermixed with clay; while a short time before the Christian era, a custom prevailed of burying the dead in caves or subterranean places.

In the manner last mentioned Dathy was interred. The royal corpse being brought over by the Irish army, was laid in a cemetery at Roilic na' Riogh, near Cruachan (Croghan), in Connaught, a celebrated burial-place of the ancient Irish kings.

Keating gives at full length the history of this ancient cemetery, from the poetry of an Irish bard of the fourth century, who, in enumerating the princely occupants of that silent resting place, thus mentions the last of our heathen monarchs:—

"Here Dathy lies (whose deeds are sung by fame),
Near Cruachan's pensive walls."

CHAPTER III.

427 TO 674.

DATHY was succeeded by Laogaire, son to Niall of the Nine Hostages, and the reign of Laogaire was rendered memorable by the succession of events which led to the diffusion of Christianity throughout his dominions. In the second year after his accession

to the throne, *Palladius* was sent as a missionary from Pope Celestine to Ireland, as Prosper, an old writer, expresses it, “*to instruct those believing in Christ.*” He met, however, with but little success, for the Irish, not approving of some changes which he would have introduced in their tenets and observances, and regarding the measure altogether as an interference with the independence of their church, gave the Legate so cold a reception, that having resided for a few months only on the confines of Wicklow and Wexford, where he baptized a few converts, and built three churches, he returned to Scotland, where he died in the following spring.

Laogaire’s reign was still more distinguished by being the period of the ministry of St. Patrick. That remarkable missionary has been erroneously represented as an Irishman, but was, in fact, born at a town called Empto, on the marches between England and Scotland. His baptismal name was Succath, and the appellation by which he is generally known was a corruption of the title *Patri- cius*, which was bestowed upon him for his learning. Having been captured by one of the officers of Niall of the Nine Hostages, he was carried as a slave to the county of Down; here he was employed by Milcho his master in feeding cattle, and had to pine away for years under the multiplied sufferings connected with a state of bondage. In a small work called the “Confession of St. Patrick,” and which is referred to, as authentic, by Archbishop Ussher, a celebrated chronologist who lived at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, Ireland’s favourite “saint,” thus describes the circumstances which led him to bear so prominent a part in the conversion of our countrymen:—“I was not from my childhood a believer in the only God, but

continued in death and unbelief until I was severely chastened ; now it was, that I was brought to a sense of the unbelief of my heart, and I used to remain in the woods, and on the mountains, and would rise for prayer, before daylight, in the midst of snow, and ice, and rain, and felt no injury from it."

Whilst, occupied with these thoughts, he slowly paced through his master's fields, he discovered a piece of golden ore in a clod of earth which was turned up by one of the swine ; with this he redeemed himself from slavery, and having a passionate desire for literature, repaired to France, where, under the guidance of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, who completed his conversion, and, in process of time, ordained him a deacon, he pursued those studies which qualified him for the task he longed to undertake, that of preaching the Gospel in Ireland. He was afterwards, by Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre, ordained a presbyter, and, after a lapse of some years, he sailed for Dublin. From Dublin he proceeded to Down, where he remained for some time, after which he prepared, on the approach of Easter, to celebrate that great Christian festival, in the neighbourhood of Tara, where the states were assembled. Having arrived at Slane, in the county of Meath, he lighted on a lofty hill a fire, according to the custom of the ancient Christians on Easter eve. The flame was quickly perceived by King Laogaire, being the more remarkable, that all fires were prohibited on the night before Easter, till they had been kindled from the sacred fire at the altar of Tara.

To the angry inquiries of Laogaire, the Druids are said to have answered, that the fire then kindled before their eyes, unless extinguished that night, would never be extinguished ; the king sum-

moned the offender to appear before him, and the princes sat in a circle to receive him; in the first interview they were struck by his eloquence, and next day he obtained a second audience; when Laogaire, having listened to him attentively for some time, exclaimed suddenly, "It is better that I should believe than perish!" He did not, however, become a convert, but gave permission to St. Patrick to preach the Gospel amongst the people, on condition of his not infringing on the laws or the peace of the kingdom. In some of the works of St. Patrick, which are still extant, the great doctrines of Christianity are faithfully stated; the reading of the Scriptures is enforced, and the adoration of any *creature* is forbidden; he distinctly states the existence of but "three habitations under the power of Almighty God, the highest whereof is called the kingdom of God, the lowest is termed hell, and the middle is named the present world" In these works he plainly implies, that Christianity had been taught before his time in Ireland, for in a letter addressed to his disciples there he says, "I went to the remotest places where never before had any one come, who could preach, or baptize, or ordain clergy"—implying, that he found not only Christianity in other parts of Ireland, but an hierarchy already established there, as the subsequent inquiries of the learned have satisfactorily ascertained

Laogaire, according to the custom of his ancestors, assembled a convention at Tara, where the ancient records were examined, and new statutes being transcribed and added, they were deposited in the sacred archives. His hitherto prosperous reign was, however, terminated in a remarkable manner: a conspiracy was formed against him by Crimthan, king of Leinster, who, after a sanguinary battle took

the monarch prisoner. To his entreaties to be liberated, his captor replied, that if he would promise to forego all claim to demand the Borumean tribute of Leinster, he would set him free. Lao-gaire agreed, but hardly had he been set at large, when he shamefully violated his oath; as a punishment for which, say the bards, and an example to faithless princes, he was suddenly struck dead by a thunderbolt. He was succeeded by Olliol Molt, A.D. 453, in whose reign a fierce contest took place with Lugaidh, King of Leinster, regarding the Borumean tribute. After wearing the crown for twenty years, he was slain in battle, A.D. 473, by Lugaidh the Second, grandson to Niall of the Nine Hostages, in whose family the monarchy continued from this period, with few interruptions, till its total demolition.

Although the manuscripts of those early ages have been nearly all destroyed by foreign invaders, and during the unhappy civil dissensions by which, from its earliest times, this island has been torn, there are still relics enough preserved to show, that even at that period, learning was cultivated in a very considerable degree; and so rapid had its progress become, that Aodh, or Hugh the First, who succeeded Lugaidh, about A.D. 495, was obliged to adopt strong measures to diminish the number of bards, which, in those days, included a great part of the population. In his reign was born, in A.D. 521, the celebrated Crimthan, surnamed for his mildness and religious zeal, Columb-Kill, or the "Dove of the Churches." Columb founded many establishments of a religious order, called *Culdees*, (from the compound Irish word Cull-de, or servant of God.) This order—whose rule is stated by some writers to have been invented by Athanasius, a Greek father of the fourth century—was quite independent of Rome; differing

in the mode of observing Easter, and in other particulars. This order greatly increased in the fifth and sixth centuries, and extended itself through both England and the Continent—many episcopal chairs being filled by its members, and a multitude of missionaries supplied by it to Scotland, to parts of England, and to other countries. Columba taught that there were but three states, those of heaven, earth, and hell; he also strongly inculcated the reading of the Scriptures, several parts of which his followers, whether clergy or laity, were obliged to commit to memory. The efforts of the Culdees delayed for a time the progress of the papal power in Ireland, and, hence, the Roman Church has regarded them with constant animosity. Columba was educated at the monastery of Clonard, in the county of Meath, founded by St. Finian in the fifth century, the most renowned of Ireland's ancient seminaries. Having completed his studies, he commenced his pious labours, and in his twenty-fifth year founded an abbey near Lough Foyle, in the county of Derry, called Daire Calgach, and also that of Durrow, in the King's County. Thwarted, however, by the feuds of the Irish princes, he turned his eyes towards the conversion of his brethren of North Britain, and having about A. D. 563, obtained from the Albanian king a grant of the lands of Hy, or Iona, which was an appendage to the Scottish kingdom, he hastened thither, and preached the Gospel with great success both there and in the Western Isles. In the seventy-sixth year of his age he breathed his last in his favourite monastery at Iona.

About A. D. 527, Tuathal Maolgarbh, great grandson to Niall the Great, after an uneventful reign of eleven years, was succeeded by Diarmaid, A. D. 539, who, while Tuathal lived, had remained in conceal-

ment from fear of persecution. During that time he became acquainted with Kieran, to whom, after his accession to the throne, he granted a site on the eastern bank of the Shannon, where Kieran founded the monastery of Clonmacnoise, famous for its seven royal churches.

The last meeting at Tara took place in Diarmaid's reign in A.D. 554, which is thus accounted for by the monkish historians: Some fugitive criminal, who had taken sanctuary in the monastery of St. Ruan, having been forcibly dragged to Tara, and there put to death, despite the protestations of the abbot against this impious violation of his sanctuary, he proceeded, attended by his monks, in solemn silence, to Tara, where he uttered imprecations on its walls. "From that day," say the annalists, "no king ever sat at Temor again, and the monastery of St. Ruan was ever afterwards called the Monastery of the Curses of Ireland." (To return, however, to the narrative.) On the death of Diarmaid, about A.D. 550, two brothers of the family of the Northern Nialls, called Donald and Fergus, were raised to the throne, when a furious battle is recorded to have been fought between their troops and those of the king of Leinster, on the banks of the Liffey, on account of the obnoxious tribute, when the Leinster people were defeated. To these succeeded, in A.D. 551, two others, princes, named Bøetan and Eochoidh; and about A.D. 558, Aidus, who had a prosperous reign of twenty-six years.

About A.D. 559, was born Columbanus,* who, having studied at the abbey of Benn-chor, now Bangor, in the county of Down, undertook a mission to convert the Franks to Christianity. In this he was eminently successful, and at length, selecting a retired

* Often confounded with St. Columba.

spot amongst the Apennines, he founded there the monastery of Bobbio, where he passed the remainder of his days. The same doctrines, regarding the necessity of scriptural study, and the existence of three states only, are to be found in his works as in those of the teachers who have been already cited: and it is worthy of observation, that both the bread and the wine were, in his day, given to the laity in the Lord's Supper, as, in a description of the rule of his convents, it is stated, that "the virgins sipped the blood." His labours were carried on after his death, by an Irish missionary called Gallus, who founded an abbey in Switzerland, which, in the thirteenth century, was erected into a principedom, and the territory belonging to it has since received the appellation of St. Gall.

After the death of Aidus, the reader is presented with a list of kings in whose reigns there occurred little that is worthy of record; however, to preserve the chain of chronology, their names and dates shall be inserted here:—

Malcobha	-	-	-	-	A.D. 606
Donall	-	-	-	-	623
Conally	-	-	-	-	630
Diarmaid	-	-	-	-	656
Seachnasach	-	-	-	-	669

In the reign of Seachnasach, lived Coleman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, off the north-east coast of England; who, at a synod held at Whitby in Yorkshire, for the purpose of discussing the question respecting the proper time for celebrating Easter, offered a decision strongly confirmatory of the hypothesis of the oriental derivation of the Irish church. He having there declared, that he observed "it in the manner taught him by the elders who sent him, and that this was the manner, in which it had been

celebrated by St. John, with all the churches that he did oversee." In explanation of this subject of dispute, which so greatly disturbed the harmony of the Church in the middle ages, it may be well to state, that about the middle of the second century, a controversy arose, between the Eastern or Asiatic and the Western or Roman Church, concerning the time of celebrating Easter. The Western Church objected to precisely following the rule of the fourteenth day of the moon; because, in so doing, the day of the resurrection varied as to the day of the week, and it was considered an indecency to celebrate it on any but the first day of the week, on which it had taken place. They also pleaded a tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul, which favoured their side of the question.

The Asiatic Church, on the grounds of ancient practice, and the **authority** of a tradition which derived that practice **from** St. John, contended for adhering to the fourteenth day of the moon next after the vernal equinox, on which day they commemorated the Passion of our Lord, and three days after celebrated his glorious resurrection, until the first Council of Nice, in the fourth century, put an end to this practice. The Eastern Church, however, continued to follow it, as did the Irish (which must have received the Gospel through the eastern channel), and adhered to it even down to the time of Bede, who flourished in the eighth century.

Seachnasach dying in A.D. 669, was succeeded by Kennfaela, who ascended the throne A.D. 674.

CHAPTER IV.

674 TO 879.]

THE early history of the Church in the kingdom of Northumberland, is intimately connected with

that of Ireland. Northumberland had embraced the profession of Christianity under King Edwin, A.D. 627. But Edwin being killed in battle, in A.D. 632, the whole kingdom relapsed into idolatry; two princes, apostates from Christianity, succeeded, but they having fallen in fight, were, in their turn, succeeded by Oswald, a Christian. This latter prince had been educated among the Scottish people, and on his accession to the throne, being anxious for the propagation of the Gospel, applied to them to send him Christian teachers to instruct his people; on which, Aidan, an Irishman of deep piety and learning, was sent him, in A.D. 673, from the college of Iona, and by the blessing of God on his endeavours, the kingdom was recovered from paganism.

Ireland had from very early times enjoyed a distinguished reputation for learning; and such was the celebrity of her schools, that foreigners came thither in numbers to be educated. In the reigns of Fionach, A.D. 676; Congal, 706; Feargal, 713; Fogartach, 724; Flahertach, 727; Aodh, 734; Donall II., 770; and Niall II., 773; the fame of this island was widely spread on the continent. In the seventh century, had flourished Maildolph and Adamnanus, renowned alike for piety and erudition. Towards the middle of the eighth, Feargal, under the name of Virgilius, attracted the notice of Pepin, king of France. Feargal was accused to Pope Zachary, of holding opinions which were repugnant to Christianity; particularly, that the earth was spherical, that there was another world, and that we had our antipodes. There is reason to suppose that his holiness privately favoured these ideas, as, instead of disgracing Virgilius, he acquitted him, and subsequently promoted him to the bishopric of Saltsburgh in Germany. "In the eighth century," says

Mosheim—a well-known ecclesiastical historian—“if we except some poor remains of learning which were yet to be found at Rome, and in certain cities of Italy, the sciences seemed to have abandoned the Continent, and fixed their residence in Britain and Ireland.” Having instanced amongst the scholars of the latter country, Alcuin, Clemens, Dungal, and others, he proceeds thus :—“Charlemagne, emperor of the western empire, whose political talents were embellished by a considerable degree of learning, and an ardent zeal for the cultivation of the sciences, endeavoured to dispel the profound ignorance that reigned in his dominions, in which excellent undertaking he was animated and directed by the counsels of Alcuin; and with this view, he drew from various quarters, by his liberality, men who had distinguished themselves in the various branches of literature;” “and with others the **HIBERNIANS**, who distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences, *beyond all other European nations*,” “discharging with the highest credit the functions of doctors in Germany and France.” The strange circumstances under which two itinerant Irish scholars, named Clement and Albinus, contrived to attract the emperor’s notice, are thus related by a monkish chronicler of the time :—Arriving, in company with some British merchants, on the shores of France, these two “Scots of Ireland” “observing that the crowds which flocked around them on their arrival, were eager only for saleable articles, could think of no other mode of drawing attention to themselves, than by crying out, ‘Who wants wisdom? who wants wisdom? let him come to us for we have it to sell.’” By continually repeating this cry, they soon succeeded in becoming noticed, and as they were found, on nearer inquiry, to be men of no

ordinary stamp, an account of them was forthwith transmitted to Charlemagne, who gave orders that they should be conducted into his presence. Their scheme was at once crowned with success, as the king, finding their pretensions to wisdom to be not without foundation, placed Clement at the head of a seminary, which he then established in Paris, in the year 792; and sent Albinus to preside over a similar institution at Pavia, in Italy—two universities remarkable as being the first which were established on the continent.

In the reign of Niall II., according to the accounts of the early historians, many uncommon phenomena seemed to predict new miseries to Ireland: they state that fleets and armies were seen in the sky, while the country was desolated by earthquakes and famine. The monarch was so greatly shocked by these mysterious portents, that in A.D. 787 he resigned the sceptre to Donall III., and retired to the island of Iona, where in a few years he expired, and was interred in a vault, the covering-stone of which is said to be yet preserved, and to bear upon it the inscription—

“Tumulus regum Hiberniæ.”

The reign of Donall was not marked by any extraordinary occurrences; but in that of his successor, Aodh, or Aidus II., who ascended the throne about the year 795, the famous pirates of Northern Europe, known by the names, indifferently, of *Northmen*, *Danes*, or *Ostmen*, made their first invasion of Ireland. Landing on the north-east coast, they proceeded to Roscommon, laying waste the surrounding country; the natives appeared at first panic-stricken, by the number and fierceness of these formidable strangers; but at length, in A.D. 810, rousing themselves, they ventured to oppose them,

and gave them two decisive overthrows. Notwithstanding these defeats, a fresh body of Ostmen appeared soon after in the Shannon, and plundered the churches of Inniscattery. They were again repulsed; but though this had been the case where ever they were met in fair battle by the Irish, yet before the defeat, the country had been devastated, their command of the sea enabling them to land where they pleased. It has been said that the elements conspired to ruin the kingdom, for thunder and lightning, uncommon in March, were in that month heard on the north side of the Shannon, while at the same time the sea broke down the banks with great violence, and laid a large part of the country under water.

Aodh was succeeded by his son, Conary the Third, during whose **reign** the Danes made fresh incursions, and under **the command** of a chieftain named Turgesius, for the first time, defeated the Irish with considerable slaughter. The ravages committed by that leader and his followers continued with increased violence in the reign of Concobhar, who succeeded him in A.D. 818.

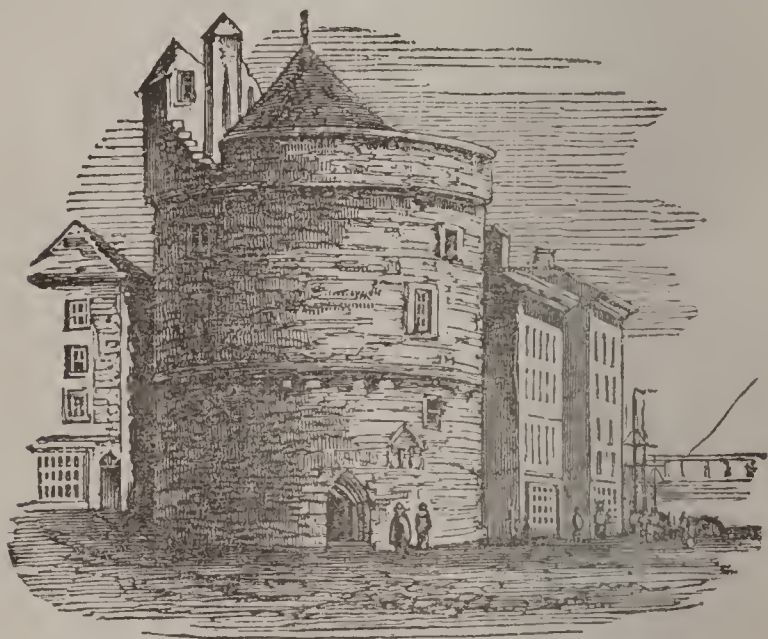
In his time lived the celebrated ecclesiastical writers Caelius Sedulius and Claudius Scotus, the latter of whom is spoken of by Archbishop Ussher as "a famous divine." He wrote commentaries on various parts of the Scriptures, and his works are frequently quoted by Roman Catholic writers. The doctrines taught by these learned men were equally scriptural with those tenets hitherto inculcated in the Irish church: justification by faith was strongly insisted on, all idea of merit being attached to the works of man was disclaimed, and the adoration of any being, except the Godhead, declared to be "the crime of impiety." In the time of Claudius, both the bread and the

wine were given to the people in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The year 831 is that in which the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, or the change of the bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ, was distinctly brought forward and published in the Church of Rome. This new doctrine excited great astonishment, and was opposed by Pope Gelasius and many of the most eminent men of the day, amongst whom one of the most famous was an Irishman—the well-known Johannes Scotus *Erigena*, i.e., of Ireland. Johannes is acknowledged to have been one of the most eminent men to whom this country has given birth, and his literary and philosophical accomplishments are spoken of with the highest commendation by Mosheim, in his Church History, and by others who have mentioned his character and genius. Charles the Bald, Emperor of France, not only extended to him his patronage, but made him the companion of his most secluded and familiar hours. By the command of that prince, he, with the assistance of Bertram, an English priest, drew up a clear and rational explanation of the important doctrine in question. His treatise has unfortunately been lost, but it is described as having been distinguished for the logical precision with which he treated the subject.

Concobhar dying about 832, was succeeded by Niall Calne, in the fifth year of whose reign the Liffey was covered with the vessels of a fresh horde of Danes. The career of the fierce Turgesius, however, now approached its close. Having been captivated by the charms of Morna, daughter of the king of Meath, he demanded her in marriage. The king pretending to be much affronted at the proposal, but touched by the chieftain's continued solicitation, agreed that in an island on Loch Uair, near Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath, the princess,

attended by fifteen virgins, should be presented to her future husband; at the time appointed, Turgesius hastened with fifteen nobles to meet his bride, but a reception of an unexpected nature awaited him: hardly had he saluted the princess, when the supposed handmaids, who were, in fact, vigorous Irish youths, drawing each his skein, or dagger, from under his robe, rushed on the tyrant and his party, and quickly dispatched them.

In A.D. 853, a large army landed in Ireland, commanded by Anlaf, Ivar, and Sitricus, three brothers of the royal race of Norway. Dublin was seized and fortified by Anlaf; Limerick fell to the share of Ivar;



while Sitricus built the city of Waterford. This band was called the *Dubh-Galls*, or black strangers, to distinguish them from the *Fin-Galls*, white strangers, or Danes, who had before invaded this island.

In the year 863 Aodh Finliath succeeded to the supreme monarchy, and strengthened the connexion between Ireland and its Albanian colony in Scotland, by marrying the daughter of Kenneth Mac Alpin, king of Albany. That colony had, in 590, ceased to be tributary to the Irish crown, and had become an independent kingdom, but for more than a century and a half had been convulsed by struggles for the throne between the royal houses of Fergus and of Lorn; when at last the dispute was arranged by an agreement that the rival families should reign alternately.

During the period of this civil war, it seems strange that the Picts never took advantage of it, to invade Albany. But it was not until towards the middle of the ninth century that the struggle commenced which ended in placing a Scoto-Irish prince on the Pictish throne. Achy, king of the Scottish colony, had married a Pictish princess called Urgesia: his grandson, Kenneth Mac Alpin, took the field against the Picts about 843, and having defeated them, after a desperate conflict, ascended the throne. By that event the crowns of Albany and Pictland were united on one head, and from this epoch is to be dated the foundation of the kingdom of SCOTLAND, though it was not commonly designated by that name until the beginning of the eleventh century.

In the year 879, Flann Sionna having married the widow of the late sovereign of Ireland, Aodh Finliath, reigned in the right of his wife, and under his dominion the country enjoyed comparative prosperity, and much was done to repair the miseries caused by the Danes—for by this name the various tribes which invaded Ireland from the northern coasts of Europe were collectively designated. Christianity, which had been put down by these fierce

Paganis, dared again to show itself, abbeys and other ecclesiastical buildings began to arise out of their ruins, and the seminaries of learning were again opened and attended by numerous students. The miseries which foreign invaders had inflicted upon Ireland had not yet, however, taught her people the lesson of union amongst themselves; notwithstanding the fatal effects of former dissensions, fresh ones broke out in the reign of Flann. The celebrated Cormac Mac Cuillenan, king of Munster, and bishop of Cashel, in Tipperary—for in him both dignities were united—became engaged in a lamentable civil war with the King of Leinster, who was aided by the supreme monarch. In this unhappy warfare Cormac lost his life. He is described as having been a great, learned, and good man, but was too easily led to engage in this contest, by the instigations of a turbulent abbot of Inniscattery (an island on the Shannon), who was his principal adviser in the matter. Cormac built on the celebrated rock of Cashel a chapel, of which the beautiful ruins are still standing. He also wrote a very important work called “The Psalter of Cashel,” containing a transcript of the ancient records of the kingdom. Flahertagh, the abbot, who had been the cause of the war, was taken prisoner by the victorious army, and was loaded with execrations, for the troubles he had occasioned; but being released, on the death of the king of Leinster, he was allowed to return to his monastery. He seems to have been humbled by the afflictions he had at once caused and suffered, so that he now found comfort only in devotional exercises.

Many years, however, had not passed, when, on the death of Cormac’s successor, the abbot was called from his retirement to fill the throne of Munster, which he occupied with much applause till the close

of his life. "From the whole of this narrative, says a pleasing author, "we may learn these important lessons—that the best and wisest of men may be led astray by listening to evil counsellors, and that the worst, by repentance and reformation, may again become useful members of society."—(Mac Gregor's *Stories from History of Ireland*.)

The first Ostman adventurers to the British isles were obscure and nameless sea-rovers. Gradually, however, their fierce bravery acquired for them power and influence in the countries which they invaded. "Towards the close of the ninth century, the submission of all the Danes in Ireland to one common king of their own race, reigning in Dublin, concentrated their scattered forces; instead of a confused horde of invaders, they began to assume the shape of a regular community, and their kings reigning in due succession, and forming alliances and intermarriages, stand forth to the eye as authentic personages of history."

In the second year of the tenth century, the expulsion of the Ostmen from Dublin by the people of Leinster, interrupted for a time their possession of that seat of power. In the course, however, of a few years, they regained their former dominion, and a prince named Godfred, taking possession of Dublin, received three hostages in token of submission from the native princes of that quarter.

Scarcely had Flann been seated on the throne of Ireland, when he availed himself of the aid of Danish mercenaries to attack and wantonly lay waste the province of Munster. After a long reign, this monarch was succeeded in 917 by Niall *Glundubh*, i.e., Niall of the black knee—a prince who may be regarded as the founder of the family of Oniall, or O'Neill. Niall Glundubh was succeeded by Donogh, a prince of the same noble family.

The annals of the Irish historians during this period are full of the exploits of Murkertach, the Roydamna, or heir apparent, and Callaghan, king of Cashel. The first great achievement of the Roydamna was a signal victory over the Danes in Ulster, when the son of Godfred, their king, was slain. The feeble remains of the defeated army were on the point of perishing from famine, when Godfred himself hastened from Dublin to their relief. In the years 931 and 936, this fierce people sustained two defeats from the same powerful arm, while Callaghan is held up to public reprobation for fighting on their side, and imitating their worst excesses of devastation. Alliances were frequently formed between the northmen and the natives, and coalitions were becoming almost as frequent as conflicts between them. The most memorable instance of such confederacy during this century was in A.D. 937, when the brave Anlaff, king of Dublin and Northumberland (for both kingdoms were ruled by the Danes), joining in a powerful league against Athelstan, the Anglo-Saxon king, led an immense army of Danes and Irish to the encounter, having entered the Humber with a fleet of six hundred and fifteen sail. After a contest from dawn till sunset, victory declared in favour of Athelstan, and Anlaff returned defeated, but not subdued, to his royal seat in Dublin.

About seven years after his defeat, Anlaff was invited over from Ireland by his former people of Northumberland, and being re-appointed their sovereign, again swayed the sceptre at once of a kingdom in each of the sister islands.

After a successful course of warfare in different parts of the kingdom, the Roydamna Murkertach proceeded, at the head of a great band of warriors, to gather the fruits of his late successes, in the shape of tribute and hostages from the conquered. The

Danes of Dublin, in acknowledgment of submission, surrendered to him their prince, Sitricus ; the people of Leinster delivered their king into his hands ; but the proudest trophy of his triumphal progress awaited him in Munster. Entering into the very heart of his rival Callaghan's dominions, he required that the king should be given up unconditionally into his hands. The humiliating demand was complied with, and the fierce Callaghan led from his own dominions in bondage by the triumphant Roydamna.

Murkertach survived his honours but a short time ; for in the year 943 he was slain by Blacar, son of Godfred, King of the Danes of Dublin, leaving, as a poet of that time strongly expresses it, all his countrymen *orphans*.

After a long reign, Donogh breathed his last in A.D. 944, and the sceptre passed into the hands of a prince named Congdelach, in whose reign Dublin was lost and retaken by the Northmen.

It was about 948 that the conversion of the Danes of Dublin to the Christian faith is supposed to have taken place ; and they are considered to have been the first of their nation in Ireland who in any numbers embraced the doctrines of the Gospel. One proof of religious zeal they afforded in the foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, in the neighbourhood of Dublin ; but their moral character seems to have been so little affected by their nominal conversion, that in reading the accounts of massacre and pillage continually perpetrated by them, it is difficult to believe that one is not engaged in details of the actions of pagan barbarians. The venerable shrine of Columba, at Kells—the seminary of Clonard, in the county of Meath, renowned throughout Europe for its learning—the ancient Abbey of Down, the resting-place of St. Patrick—they profaned and laid

desolate; and in an attack made by them upon Slane, A.D. 950, when they set fire to its ancient church, a number of persons who were assembled in the belfry, perished miserably in the flames.

In the year 956, Congdelach falling in a battle between the Leinster people and the Danes, was succeeded by Donall, son to the heroic Roydamna Murkertach. In the time of this monarch was granted a charter of the English king, Edgar, assuming dominion over "the greatest part of Ireland, together with its most noble city, Dublin." After a reign of twenty-four years, Donall ended his days in a monastery at Armagh, and was succeeded, A.D. 980, by Malachy the Great, in whose time BRIAN BORUMHA commenced his glorious career.

CHAPTER V.

980 TO 1153.

BRIAN, who was son to Kennedy, king of Munster, had from boyhood evinced a warlike disposition; and had early distinguished himself, by obliging the people of Leinster, who had objected against the Borumean tribute, to give hostages for its future payment. On the death of his father he succeeded to the throne of Munster, and his ambitious disposition soon made him appear as a rival to Malachy. These princes continued in perpetual civil war, till a fresh Danish invasion produced a reconciliation between them, and induced them to unite their forces against the common enemy. Brian, however, whose ambition was not satisfied with any thing short of the power of supreme sovereign, advancing, A.D. 999, at the head of a powerful army to Tara, so much inti-

midated Malachy, that he obliged him to resign the supreme monarchy, and content himself with the kingdom of Meath. Brian was one of the greatest benefactors of the realm to be found in the list of Ireland's ancient kings. Not less distinguished for promoting and extending the blessings of peace, than he had been heroic in war, he left behind him the memory of a reign spent in the service of his country, and marked with incessant and useful endeavours for the improvement of his people. Under his care, religion and learning flourished throughout his dominions; the churches, colleges, and seminaries, which the Danes had destroyed, were rebuilt; the clergy reinstated in their ecclesiastical rights; civilization, in every way, was promoted; roads and bridges were constructed throughout the country, and the public highways put into repair. The laws of his kingdom were, by his suggestions and superintendence, revised and remodelled, and administered with a spirit of impartial justice and equity that created universal satisfaction; the lands which had been usurped by the Danes, were by him restored to their original proprietors, and pagan foreigners were expelled from this kingdom.

At the advanced age of seventy-six, Brian ascended the throne of Ireland, and, for twelve years, he ruled the country in great prosperity, keeping a magnificent court, at his favourite palace of Kincora, near Killaloe, in the county of Clare, where he received the great and the learned, both of his own and foreign countries; but in the twelfth year of his reign, the veteran king was once again called to the field of battle. This war, like many others, arose out of a trifling circumstance—a dispute which took place between Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, and Murtogh, or Murchadh, the son of Brian, about a

game of chess. Mac Murrough, inflamed with passion, organized a confederacy with all the Danes throughout Ireland, and also induced the king of Denmark to send over a fresh reinforcement of 12,000 men; with whom, assisted by the Ostmen of Leinster, he proclaimed war against Brian. The latter, though in his eighty-eighth year, hesitated not to take the field once more in defence of his country and his crown; and entering Leinster, he joined his forces with those of Teige, king of Connaught, and Malachy, the deposed monarch. The two armies met on the 23rd of April, A.D. 1014, on the plain of Clontarf, near Dublin. That day being the anniversary of our Lord's Passion, Brian desired to defer the conflict till the following morning; finding, however, that he could not do so, he traversed the ranks, attended by his son Murchadh only, and conjured his troops to summon all their energy to combat the pirates before them. "The blessed Trinity," he cried, "hath at length looked down on your sufferings, and endued you with courage to extirpate for ever the tyranny of the Danes in Ireland." So saying, he extended in his left hand a crucifix, in his right a sword, and exclaiming, "Was it not on THIS DAY that Christ himself suffered for you!" gave the signal for action.

The battle lasted from sunrise till the dusk of evening; the aged monarch being in a pavilion at hand, where he could be consulted on any emergency, while his son, Murchadh, directed the combat. Having put to the sword a chosen band of Danes, Murchadh perceived Anrad, son to their king, singling him out for deadly conflict; the Irish prince rushed to meet Anrad, and seizing him with his left hand—the right having grown weak from fighting—shook him out of his coat of mail, and transfixed him

to the earth. The Dane, however, was revenged; for, as the conqueror stooped over him, he drew forth the skeine which hung by Murchadh's side, and plunged it in his bosom. The command now devolved on Malachy, king of Meath, under whom the victory was finished, and the Danes and their confederates defeated with tremendous slaughter.

In the midst of the rout and carnage, the Danish admiral, Brodar, having fled with some of his followers for refuge to a wood near Brian's tent, perceived that the monarch, almost alone, was kneeling with his hands upraised in prayer. Taking advantage of the moment, Brodar and his band rushed into the tent, and, after a short struggle, put the aged Brian and his attendants to death. Unable to restrain his triumph, he sprang forward, and holding up the blade reeking with the royal veteran's blood, exclaimed—"Let it be proclaimed from man to man, that Brian has fallen by the hand of Brodar!" The Irish guards hurried back to the tent, beheld the sad spectacle, and having seized Brodar, cruelly avenged themselves on him by the infliction of lingering torments.

The day after the battle of Clontarf, Donnchadh, the second son of Brian, and who was to possess the throne of Munster jointly with his brother Teige, returned, laden with spoil, to Kilmainham. Here he joined the victorious but wearied army, and at its head boldly resolved to press forward to Munster, to secure his rightful possession.

Reaching Mullaghmast, in Leinster, his passage was opposed by Mac Gillapatrik, prince of Ossory, who sent him a laconic message, that "he must submit to his sovereignty or fight—that he must give him either hostages or battle."

"Hostages or battle!" exclaimed the youthful

Donnchadh. "Battle, then, let it be. Never be it said, that a prince of the race of Brian gave hostages to a Mac Gillapatrik !"

He immediately set about providing for the safety of the numerous band who had been wounded at the battle of Clontarf, by allotting the duty of protecting them to a party of his bravest men. But the wounded soldiers would not consent to be protected at the expense of so dangerous a sacrifice of strength. "Let there be stakes fixed in the ground," was their entreaty, "and to each of these, let one of us be firmly tied, holding our swords in our hands." The strange expedient was adopted; surprise, compassion, and involuntary awe, arrested the ranks of Ossory, as they approached this mingled front, and marked the calm and stern aspect which bespoke the determined resistance of those who were prepared to die. Mac Gillapatrik had the sagacity to perceive an impression which might damp the power of his onset, and drawing off his army, suffered the troops of Donnchadh to continue their march.

On the death of Brian, Malachy the rightful heir was restored to the sovereignty. His reign was disturbed by insurrections of the princes of Ulster and Connaught, as well as by fierce incursions of the Danes. The monarch, however, subdued all his enemies, and after a glorious though brief resumption of his dignity, he expired A.D. 1022.

On his death, the crown of the supreme monarchy devolved on Donnchadh, who, having for some time reigned jointly with his brother Teige, in the kingdom of Munster, had caused him to be murdered, and, after that, possessed the undivided authority of sovereign of that province.

His crime was, however, ripening for punishment, for Turlogh, son to the murdered Teige, headed an

army against him, and after a struggle of some years, Donnchadh resigned the sceptre to his rival, in the year 1064, and retiring to Rome, ended his days in penitence in the monastery of St. Stephen.

When Turlogh ascended the throne, Ireland had sadly degenerated from the time when her learning and piety had obtained for her throughout Europe the designation of "The Isle of Saints." In the ravages of the fierce Northmen, all distinct notices of things were lost in one ensanguined chaos of rapine and revenge, which lasted for nearly three centuries; and from which, when men recovered, it was found that religion had suffered grievously, both in its temporal and spiritual affairs. Before the Danish invasion, the ecclesiastical establishments of Ireland had considerable possessions, their revenues being derived chiefly from lands bestowed on them by private individuals. The greater portion of these lands had been seized by the lawless Danish chieftains, and the remainder subjected to heavy imposts for the support of their disorderly followers, while the clergy had become deteriorated in manners, learning, and discipline. Such was the state of affairs, when the earliest steps were taken by the Church of Rome towards acquiring that influence which afterwards ruled with such ascendancy in Ireland. The first severe shock which the Irish church received, was from the Danish foreigners, who introduced in the tenth century the order of Benedictine monks, who sought admiration more for their external performances, than the cultivation of literature or substantial piety.

About A.D. 1068, Sitric ruled the Ostman kingdom of Dublin, where he erected a see, making Donough, his countryman, its first bishop. He received consecration and the episcopal dignity from Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, which is thus accounted

for by Archbishop Ussher, the celebrated chronologist who lived at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, as was before stated. "The Danes being a colony of the Norwegians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued, by the Conqueror in the year 1066, and Normans advanced to the chief archbishoprics there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the Archbishop of Canterbury." About this period an expedition was made against Dublin, by Dermot, king of Leinster, who dethroned Sitric, and substituted in his place his own son, Murchadh, the first Irish king of the Danes. In the year 1070, that prince died, and the Northmen, notwithstanding the defeat of Clontarf, having recovered their influence, elected in his place their own countryman, Godfred or Gothric. In the year 1072, Turlogh marched to Dublin, where he found the city gates thrown open to receive him, and the Danes, together with their king Godfred placing their hands in his, as a pledge that their power was to be thenceforth employed as his own, acknowledged him for their liege lord, and sovereign. The same forms were complied with in Meath, Ossory, and Connaught, all the princes of these countries delivering him hostages, and acknowledging his sovereignty over their respective states.

Bishop Donough dying A.D. 1074, Godfred, with the consent of the clergy and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their bishop, and directed him into England to be consecrated by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him back with commendatory letters, as well to the said Gothric or Godfred, king of the Ostmen, as to Tordelvachus (or Turlogh)

the chief king or monarch of the Irish. Gladly availing himself of this favourable opportunity of advancing the cause of Romanism in Ireland, the archbishop in these flattering letters styles Godfred the "glorious king of Ireland," and Turlogh "the magnificent king of Ireland:" and he entreats them to correct some bad customs which prevailed in their country, holding out an evident expectation that they would acknowledge his authority, thus trying to open a precedent for his future interference in the internal regulation of their church, which, from these letters, appears to have been then independent, and subject neither to pope, legate, nor Archbishop of Canterbury.

Turlogh did not meet with the same good fortune in Ulster as had crowned his other expeditions, having returned from thence without hostages or plunder. He succeeded soon after in dethroning Godfred, king of the Dublin Ostmen, and having banished him "beyond seas," appointed his own son, Murkertach, A.D. 1075, to be king over that people. Whether it was this prince who was their sovereign in A.D. 1085, does not appear, but in that year Bishop Patrick dying, it is recorded that "Tordelvachus (Turlogh) and the bishops of Ireland, joined the clergy and people of Dublin in the election of Donatus, one of Lanfranc's own monks of Canterbury, who was by him also consecrated. Though unsuccessful at first in Ulster, Turlogh at length compelled that province also to acknowledge vassalage, as well as every other part of the kingdom, and received from its king, as his tribute, one thousand head of cattle, forty ounces of gold, and one hundred and twenty party-coloured mantles."

In the reign of Turlogh, flourished Tigernach the historian, whose "Annals," collected from fragments written in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries,

are brought down to the year A.D. 1088, and are frequently referred to by modern writers. Contemporary with Tigernach was the learned monk, Marianus Scotus, a celebrated divine who wrote notes on the epistles of St. Paul, and a copy of this commentary, transcribed by himself, is still extant in the imperial library at Vienna.

The death of Turlogh, in the year A.D. 1086, is ascribed to a fright caused by an incident recorded in the annals of "the Four Masters."

Connor O'Melachlin, king of Meath, had been murdered some years before, when the monarch Turlogh, who had borne this prince a deadly aversion, carried off forcibly his head (which he severed from his body) from the abbey of Clonmacnoise on a Good Friday, and had it buried near his own place of Kincora. On the following Sunday, however, his dismay was great on hearing that the hostile head had contrived to find its way back again to Clonmacnoise, where it was found quite comfortably at rest with its body, and wearing round its neck two collars of gold, which, true to the pilfering propensity for which its owner had once been celebrated, it had plundered on its way. Turlogh, resolving to manage the matter better the next time, went himself to Clonmacnoise; but the aged king had scarcely turned the skull in his hands, and was yet, with the eager eye of implacable animosity, prying into its crevices, when, with a sudden jump, a mouse leaped out into his bosom. Of this alarm he is said to have never recovered, and the statement is probable enough, when the combined effects of age and superstition are considered. He died A.D. 1086, and was succeeded by his sons, Murkertach, Teige, and Dermot. But in the course of the same year, Teige having "died in the bed of his

father at Kincora," as is related in the annals of Innisfallen, Murkertach banished his brother Dermot into Connaught, and took sole possession of the throne. Between these two brothers some years of fierce contention ensued—the younger being aided in the struggle by the kings of the other three provinces, the most formidable of whom was Donall Mac Lochlin, the acknowledged head of the O'Neill family. Under pretence of assisting Murkertach, he invaded Munster, and burned the royal residence of Kincora. No vestiges of this ancient castle are now visible, but the ramparts and fosse of the Rath of Beal Borumha still remain, and are mistaken by Seward, in the *Topographia Hibernica*, for the remains of Kincora.

Murkertach was not slow in avenging himself; sailing with a fleet of boats up the Shannon, he proceeded to despoil all the churches upon the isles and along the shores of the lakes, then carrying his arms into Leinster, and making himself master of that province and of Dublin, he, for the second time, A.D. 1088, supplanted Godfred in the government of the city, and, compelling him to fly from the kingdom, took upon himself the joint sovereignty of Leinster and Dublin. As it soon became manifest that between two competitors so active, and so nearly balanced in possessions, talents, and resources, there was little chance of a speedy termination of the contest, measures were taken for an amicable arrangement of their differences, and a convention was held by them on the banks of Lough Neagh, where the princes solemnly pledged themselves to divide Ireland between them—the southern half to remain under the dominion of Murkertach, the northern to be subject to O'Lochlin.

In the year 1095, Denatus, the Ostman bishop of

Dublin dying, his nephew Melchius, or Samuel (as he is sometimes called), an Irishman, was chosen in his stead, by Murkertach, king of Ireland, and the clergy and people of the city, by whose common decree he was sent to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his consecration.

Anselm, gladly availing himself of the opportunity that had been thus offered for the extension of the influence of Rome, by the supreme monarch permitting the bishops of Dublin to be sent to England for consecration, instead of having that ceremony performed in Ireland, addressed this year (A.D. 1195), a letter to the bishops of Ireland, in which he exhorted them to vigilance and ecclesiastical discipline, and added, that if disputes arose about their consecration or other ecclesiastical matters, they could not be economically settled without being brought before him.

In a few years, assuming still further the office of spiritual director to Melchius, he advised him to call a council for the regulation of the affairs of his diocese, and the bishop, in conformity with his counsel, in A.D. 1111, convened the nobility and clergy in a place called "Aengus Grove," in Meath, where was a wood which had been sacred to religion from the remotest ages. In another council in the same year (A.D. 1111), the numerous sees of the petty Diocese of Meath, which had amounted to seventeen, were reduced to two, Clonard and Clonmacnoise; and by thus diminishing the number of bishoprics, the church was at once made more wealthy, and more manageable by the pope. In this council was laid the foundation of the subjugation of the Irish church. Here it was decreed that the clergy should in future be exempt from taxation and secular laws—that what they contributed to the state was to be considered as a gift—that the bishops should resign the right which

they had received from St. Patrick, of consecrating bishops at pleasure—and their number was to be limited to twenty-eight, from the period of the death of those who were then living.

Towards the end of Murkertach's reign, a fact which is recorded by old Hanmer in his "Chronicle of Ireland," (in 1571), bears honourable testimony to the value of her oaks. "The fair-green or common," he writes, "now called Ostmantown green, was all woode, and he that diggeth to anye depths, shall finde the ground full of great rootes. From thence King William Rufus, by licence of Murkardt, had that frame which made up the roofe of Westminster hall, where no English spider webbeth or breedeth to this day."

In the year 1103, Murkertach was again at war with O'Lochlin, and sustained a severe defeat on the plains of Cobha, in the present county of Down, from which he seems never to have entirely recovered. For several years no particular event is recorded of him, until 1114, when he was seized with an illness which incapacitated him from managing the affairs of his kingdom, of which his brother Dermot, taking advantage, caused himself to be proclaimed king of Munster. In the following year, however, a reconciliation took place between the brothers, and the monarch expired in 1119, in the monastery of Kilmore. Donall Mac Lochlin, his warlike competitor, survived him but two years, during which period he reigned without a competitor. After his death, an interregnum of fifteen years ensued, throughout the whole of which, the fiercest contentions continued to rage with fury. The most enterprising among the candidates for the supreme monarchy, and he who at last obtained it, was Tordelvach O'Conor, king of Connaught. In Connor O'Brian, who had suc-

ceeded to the throne of Munster, he found a formidable adversary; but the great preponderance of power was on the side of Tordelvach, and he finally seated himself on the throne in the year 1136. In the year 1139, Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, acted in Ireland as the pope's *legate* (*i.e.*, a commissioner appointed by him to transact any business by his authority). He was the first legate admitted into this country, and his admission was a great step gained towards the establishment there of papal dominion. Matters, did not, however, go on so smoothly as was expected. The Irish clergy soon discovered the unreasonable lengths to which they were expected to comply with requisitions to the church of Rome, and, unable to repress their resentment, empowered the prelate of Armagh to declare to Anselm, that all their bishops felt the greatest indignation towards them for not accepting their ordination, and for desiring to be under the spiritual dominion of the archbishop of Canterbury; but it was too late to make an effort to recede. The Irish princes had lost their power, and this very bishop of Armagh was persuaded, when he was dying, to appoint Malachy Morgair, who was a zealous champion of the new system, to be his successor. One of Malachy's first acts was to solicit the *pall*, or archbishop's mantle, for his see, from Innocent II.; but this the pope declined, for the Irish clergy were as yet far from yielding obedience to the court of Rome. Malachy was active in advancing the cause which he had espoused, and in the year 1140, he introduced the Cistercian order of monks into Ireland, by the advice of St. Bernard, and established them at Mellifont, in the county of Louth; at Newry, in the county of Down; at Bective Abbey, in the county of Meath; at Boyle, in the county of Roscommon; at Baltin-

glass, in the county of Wicklow; and at Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary. This same St. Bernard, it is worth observing, who wrote the life of Malachy, states, that he did, "of the new," about 1140, institute the most holy use of *confession*, the *sacraments of confirmation* and *marriage*, all of which the Irish were ignorant of, or did neglect. Thus, by the unabating exertions of its supporters, and the criminal sacrifices and inattention of her native princes, popery daily gained a firmer footing in this island; and in 1152, John Paparo, cardinal of St. Laurence, of Damaso, in Italy, was sent into Ireland by the pope, to settle its ecclesiastical affairs on a new and permanent plan; the leading object of which was, to establish a regular revenue to be paid to Rome for the support of the Irish hierarchy. Paparo assembled a synod at Drogheda, where he bestowed four palls on the prelates of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, and ordered, that on the death of the "village bishops," each of their sees should be changed into what was called a "rural deanery." This change, however, proceeded but slowly.

The kingdom of Leinster was, at this period, ruled by Dermot Mac Murrough, a tyrannical and cruel prince, who was hated by his subjects, and seems not to have been more fortunate in domestic life. The wife of O'Ruarc, prince of Breffney, had unfortunately bestowed her affections on Dermot. The guilty attachment was mutual; and Dermot, on the invitation of the faithless princess, taking advantage of a temporary absence of her husband, entered his dominions and carried off his queen. On O'Ruarc's return, he hastened to Tordelvach, and by promises of inviolable attachment to his interest, prevailed on him to lend his assistance, by means of which he recovered his wicked

partner, (who endeavoured, by penitence and donations to the church, to atone for her offence.) This service naturally formed a close connexion between O'Ruarc and the monarch, by whose kind aid he was enabled continually to harrass his enemy, Dermot; and the warfare which had thus commenced between two provincial princes in Ireland, led ultimately to the conquest of that kingdom by the English.

CHAPTER VI.

1153 TO 1178.

THE reputation which Ireland had acquired in her wars with Scotland had been the means of making England well acquainted with her name. After the battle of Hastings, in the year 1066, the sons of Harold had taken refuge in that island; and William Rufus is said to have contemplated the conquest of that kingdom. "William Rufus," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "standing on some high rock in the furthest part of Wales, beheld Ireland, and said—'I will have the ships of my kingdom brought hither, wherewith I will make a bridge to invade Ireland.' Murkardt, king of Leinster, heard thereof; and after that he had paused a while, asked of the reporter—'Hath the king, in that his great threatening, inserted the words, 'If it please God?' and being answered 'No,' 'Then,' said he, 'seeing that the king putteth his trust only in man, and not in God, I fear not his coming.'"

Henry the Second, who had ascended the English throne A.D. 1154, a prince of great talent and boundless ambition, strongly desired to add this

island to his dominions ; nor were his courtiers slow in supplying him with grounds on which he might lay claim to it, alleging that the Irish had originally possessed themselves of their country by the permission of Gurguntius, a British king, and were, as the descendants of Britain, the lawful subjects of an English monarch. An expedient, however, occurred to Henry, which was more likely to be rewarded with success. Pretending that the Irish were sunk in the grossest ignorance and impiety, “he sent solemn ambassadors,” says Matthew Paris, a celebrated historian of the 13th century, “to Rome, in A.D. 1155, and requested of Pope Adrian IV. that he would license his entering into the island of Ireland in a hostile manner, and that he would allow him to subdue the country, and bring over those beastly fellows to the faith—and to the path of truth.” Adrian had many reasons for complying with Henry’s request. He was himself an Englishman, (Nicholas Breakspear by name,) and was inclined towards it from patriotism. Another motive was the desire to confirm and establish the rising influence of the see of Rome in Ireland ; and he was strongly urged towards compliance by John, bishop of Chartres, in France, who was his most intimate friend, and a faithful adherent of Henry’s. Adrian, therefore, impiously alleging that “all the islands on which Christ, the Sun of righteousness, hath shined,” “do belong, of right, to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church,” sent Henry a commission, or, as it is styled, a *bull*, empowering him to seize on Ireland, and bring it into the bosom of the church, and ordering all the people there to receive him with respect, and to reverence him as their lord. The Pope annexed but one condition to this unjust grant, which was—that the king of England should exact from every house in

Ireland a yearly tribute of a penny, which was to be paid annually into the treasury of Rome.

Henry was not for a long time able to take advantage of the permission granted him by this bull, (A.D. 1155,) to invade and seize Ireland. War with France, and harrassing disputes with Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, engrossed his thoughts; and he might, perhaps, have deferred even longer his Irish expedition, but that it was forced on his attention by a direct application from that unhappy country.

One of the last acts of the life of Tordelvach the Great, as he is flatteringly styled by his historians, was to receive hostages from the king of Munster, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty; a few months after which he died, in 1156, and was interred at Clonmacnoise, according to directions which were found in his will.

He was succeeded in the throne of Connaught by his son, Roderic O'Connor, while the supreme authority passed into the hands of Murtoigh O'Loughlin, king of Ulster, to whom Dermot Mac Murrough paid assiduous homage. O'Loughlin, however, enjoyed his elevation but one year, being slain, A.D. 1157, at the battle of Letterluin, a wild tract of Ulster, in the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh; and Roderic, son to Tordelvach, obtained the long-contested title of sovereign of Ireland. Roderic, instigated by O'Ruarc, who, from Dermot's wickedness in regard to his queen, had become his inveterate enemy, and was indignant at him for having done homage to O'Loughlin, overran and devastated the whole province of Leinster. Dermot, deserted by his subjects, to whom his tyranny had made him hateful, and thirsting for revenge, applying to Henry the Second, who was then in France, besought his assistance in

the recovery of his kingdom, which he promised to hold from henceforth in vassalage to England. Henry was at that time too much occupied to assist Dermot in person; but perceiving that an admirable occasion was then offered him of gaining an entrance into Ireland, received him graciously, and dismissed him, with letters to some of the English lords, promising his royal favour to all who should assist with arms or money the endeavours of the king of Leinster. Dermot's exertions, however, and even the letters of Henry, were fruitless, until the king of Leinster met, at Bristol, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Chepstowe, surnamed, from his feats of archery, *Strongbow*, who, from his brave nature and munificent spirit, was particularly qualified to lend effectual aid to the enterprise; and this he promised, on condition that Dermot would give him his beautiful daughter, Eva, in marriage. Two Norman knights of high rank, Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen, brothers, both fitted for it by broken fortune and political difficulties, also embarked in the undertaking; "and so," says Davis, "the first attempt to conquer this kingdom was but an adventure of a few private gentlemen."

Elated with his success, Dermot retired to the monastery of Ferns, in the county of Wexford, for the winter, from whence he, early in the year, took the field with some of his followers, against Roderic; but, having done so prematurely, was routed by that monarch, to whom he did abject submission, renouncing all claim to the territory of Leinster, except five cantreds, or hundreds, which he promised to hold in dependence on Roderic. His perfect faithlessness, however, was evinced, when, in May, 1169, Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, accompanied by Harvev de Mountmorres, the uncle of

Strongbow, having embarked their forces in two vessels called "Bagg" and "Bun," ran for the nearest headland, disembarked at a point called to this day Bagenbun, near Fethard, on the south coast of Wexford; and

"At the creek of Bagenbun,
Ireland was lost and won."

The English army was immediately joined by Dermot, who, without scruple, sacrificed his oath and the liberty of his country, to the gratification of ambition and revenge. The Irish at first resolutely opposed their invaders; but alarmed at the progress made by regularly-disciplined troops, their resistance became more and more feeble, and the town of Wexford, captured by Fitz-Stephen, was bestowed by Dermot on him and on Fitz-Maurice, who was daily expected; while to Harvey de Mountmorres were allotted two cantreds, lying on the sea side, between Wexford and Waterford. Dermot now hastened to chastise the prince of Ossory, who had revolted from him. The Ossorians were overcome, and three hundred of their heads laid as acceptable trophies at the feet of the cruel king of Leinster. Turning them over with his sword, he is said to have leaped with delight, as he recognised the different faces; and perceiving amongst them the head of a chieftain whom he mortally hated, he seized it by the ears, and ferociously bit off the nose and lips.

Roderic having vainly tried, by negotiation, to dissolve the league between Dermot and Fitz-Stephen, condescended to make a treaty with Dermot, wherein the latter again agreed to hold the kingdom of Leinster as a fief from the sovereign, provided that it was granted to him and his heirs for ever, promising that

he would disband his army when he had completed the reduction of his territories; and in pledge of his good faith, delivering up his son Hugh as a hostage to Roderic.

While Fitz-Stephen was occupied in Wexford building a fort called Carric, or Carrig, Dermot led



Fitz-Gerald, who had recently arrived in Ireland, to attack the Ostmen of Dublin, who had rebelled against his father, murdered him, buried his body with the carcase of a dog, and chosen as king in his stead their governor, Hesculph Mac Torkill. In revenge for these offences, the king of Leinster having gained possession of their city, perpetrated such cruelty, by fire and sword, that at length the wretched inhabitants were obliged to sue, in the humblest manner, for mercy. Having accomplished his professed object—that of the recovery of his dominions—Dermot ought to have dismissed his allies;

but instead of doing this, though in the seventieth year of his age, he now boldly declared that he aspired to the supreme monarchy. Once more he strove to induce his English friends to aid him; but they having gained from him as much as they expected, suggested that he should remind Strongbow of the promise of assistance which he had given; and that lord, who had waited to see what would be the probable result of the warfare, willingly consented to make good his word. He was for a time withheld by Henry, who was loath that Ireland should be conquered without the aid of his royal arm; but after repeated expostulation on the earl's part, the monarch at last, weary of his solicitation, passionately bid him to "begone." It was then winter, and no embarkation could safely be made. By the spring of 1171, however, his preparations were completed, and he dispatched a large body of Welsh troops, under the command of a gallant young warrior, called Raymond Fitz-William, who, for his remarkable strength, was surnamed Raymond le Gros. This band landed at Waterford, where it was at first vigorously opposed; but the Welsh army suddenly driving a number of cattle which they had collected for their subsistence, on the affrighted natives, threw them into such confusion, that they were soon entirely defeated. About seventy of the principal inhabitants of their city were made prisoners, who, contrary to the remonstrances of Raymond, were borne away to the rocks, where their limbs having been first broken, they were cast headlong into the sea.

Strongbow persisted in his design of going to Ireland, notwithstanding the opposition which Henry continued to offer; and in August, 1171, appeared in the bay of Waterford, with two hundred knights, and twelve hundred foot.

Without loss of time, Strongbow united with Raymond in besieging the city, which was taken by their joint forces; and here Dermot, suddenly joining them, presented his daughter in marriage to Strongbow. Hardly, however, were the nuptials ended, when the bridegroom had to buckle on his armour, and hasten to Dublin, whither Roderic was on his march, to reinforce Hesculph, the governor. Roderic, with a vast army, had reached Clondalkin, a few miles south of the metropolis, when he was overtaken by the English, and fearing the superior discipline of their troops, retreated after a few skirmishes. The Ostmen of Dublin, abandoned to the fury of the besiegers, dispatched a mission to Dermot, headed by their archbishop, Lawrence O'Toole; but while he vainly pleaded for mercy, the youthful leaders of the English army, pretending that the time for the parley was concluded, and led by Milo de Cogan, a brave young knight, rushed out, sword in hand, and made a sudden assault on the city, which they gained with great slaughter. De Cogan was made governor by Strongbow, who was now invested with the lordship.

The earl, accompanied by his traitorous ally Dermot, now overran Meath, where Roderic had sent deputies to remind him that he was breaking the treaty, for the observance of which he held in his hands so precious a hostage; and that the life of his son must answer for the breach of good faith. Dermot briefly replied, "that he claimed not only Leinster, but all Ireland; and that as for his son, he might do with him as he pleased." The unhappy Cormac was accordingly put to death, and was long deplored by his native bards, as the flower of the chivalry of Leinster.

On hearing of Strongbow's success, Henry, influ-

enced by a feeling of jealousy, issued an edict, commanding that all his subjects who were in Ireland should return instantly to their country, on pain of being proclaimed traitors. Unwilling to obey, and afraid to disobey, Strongbow dispatched his friend Raymond le Gros with a letter to his royal master, in which he offered him the most entire disposal of his Irish possessions. On Raymond's arrival at court, he found Henry involved in perplexity, by the assassination of Thomas à Becket. The young knight, though long detained, could not obtain a hearing; and while in his absence Strongbow remained irresolute how to act, his perplexity was increased by the death of Dermot, who expired of a loathsome disease, in the monastery of Ferns. On hearing this intelligence, the Irish immediately revolted from Strongbow; and on the return of Raymond, he found that the earl, shut up in Dublin, and cut off from any supplies, was about to make a treaty with Roderic. He offered to Archbishop O'Toole, who had been again chosen by the Irish as negociator, to hold the province of Leinster in fealty to the Irish monarch, on conditions of his raising the siege of Dublin. This proposal was, however, far from satisfying Roderic, who demanded that the invaders should resign all the Irish forts which were in their hands, and, on a day assigned, withdraw their forces from the country. On hearing this disgraceful proposition, Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Milo de Cogan, starting up, reproached the English with cowardice, advised a sortie to be made at once for their deliverance, and gallantly offered to head it. The advice was followed, the sally was successful, and the English, who, in the morning, were on the verge of desperation, soon saw the numerous army of the enemy retreating in all directions.

The capital having been thus secured to the English, the Earl of Pembroke resolved to proceed to Wexford, where the inhabitants, on hearing of his misfortunes, had imprisoned his governor, Fitz-Stephen. Passing through a defile in the county of Carlow, Strongbow was near being cut off by a band of the fierce Irish; and his son, a youth of seventeen, terrified by their ferocious onset, flying to Dublin, announced that his father and all his army had perished. Soon, however, convinced of his mistake, he joyfully hastened to the earl, and kneeling before him, congratulated him on his victory; but the chieftain, looking at him sternly, reproached him in the bitterest terms for his cowardice, pronounced him unworthy to live, and commanding his squire to bring him his sword, he cut him in two upon the instant.*

Strongbow marched to Wexford, where he was, however, prevented from undertaking the rescue of Fitz-Stephen, by receiving an intimation from the citizens, that if he should attempt it, they would strike off their prisoner's head. And while thus harassed and anxious, the earl was suddenly recalled to England by the king, who announced his intention of visiting Ireland in person. Stationing governors in Dublin and Waterford, Strongbow embarked, and met his sovereign at Gloucester, where he surrendered to him Dublin and a large adjoining demesne. And Henry, pacified by this submission, granted to him and his heirs all his

* In this state he was represented on an ancient monument of Strongbow, which had been placed in Christ Church, Dublin, but was destroyed in 1572 by the fall of the roof. The tomb which has been subsequently shown as that of the Earl of Chepstowe, is, on good authority, stated to be in reality that of Thomas Fitz-James, eighth earl of Desmond.

other Irish possessions, to be held in perpetuity of the kings of England.

Henry having paid his devotions at the shrine of St. David in Wales, and received the blessing of its bishop, the celebrated historian Giraldus Cambrensis, embarked with a large train of barons, four hundred knights, and four thousand soldiers, and landed at Waterford in October, 1172. Amid the exclamations of joy at the arrival of this new sovereign, Strongbow made a formal surrender of Waterford, and did homage for his principality of Leinster. The men of Wexford were at hand with their prisoner Fitz-Stephen, whom they resigned to the king's disposal, alleging against him many acts of tyranny and injustice; and Henry, judging it politic, until his affairs were somewhat settled, to assume an appearance of anger which he did not feel, sternly remanded the knight to prison. The English monarch then made excursions through those parts of Ireland which had submitted to his yoke, and in his progress impressed the natives with so formidable an idea of his power, that many of their princes voluntarily did homage to him. Amongst them were the kings of Thomond, Ossory, and the Decies, a principality of Munster. He returned to Waterford, where, finding it no longer necessary to keep up the appearance of displeasure against Fitz-Stephen, he released him, and accepted his homage for the rest of his territories on his resigning Wexford.

Having provided for the security of Munster, Henry proceeded to take possession of Dublin in due form; and as he passed along in slow and stately procession, the Irish lords of Leinster, preferring his service to that of Strongbow, hastened to tender their allegiance.

Roderic, roused at last to act with proper spirit

and resolving not to resign his kingdom without a struggle, refused to pay homage to Henry, who dispatched two of his generals, Fitz-Andelm De Burgh and Hugh De Lacy, (mentioned in Chapter I.,) either to force or persuade him to submission.

On Henry's arrival in Dublin, those Irish chiefs, who became his vassals, were received by him with the most gracious expressions, and feasted with such elegance and pomp, as the circumstance of the case permitted; and the city affording no edifice capable of containing the royal train, a temporary structure of hurdles was raised after the Irish fashion, where the vassal lords were splendidly entertained.

But though the state had thus submitted to the king, the church was as yet independent, and retained its ancient customs and peculiar distinctions, so that its rites and ceremonies differed in many respects from the English ritual, which was now the same with the Roman. Henry, therefore, had not fulfilled the obligation which he lay under to the pope, to bring Ireland within the pale of the church—that is, to reduce the ancient and ecclesiastical establishment of this country into uniformity of doctrine and practice with that of Rome: the more ancient and purer British church having been overturned, and the remnant of it driven into Wales.

To this end, early in the year 1172, he summoned a *synod*, or council, at Cashel, which seems to have been selected as the ecclesiastical metropolis of the south of Ireland, and Henry sent his chaplain Nicholas, with the archdeacon of Llandaff, (in Wales,) to grace the assembly. The archbishops and bishops of Ireland also attended, with the exception of Gelasius, the primate, whom the infirmities of age prevented from travelling so far. Christian, bishop of Lismore, as legate from his Holiness, was president.

According to the system under which the Roman Catholics found the Irish church established, the power of the prince over the priesthood was as absolute as over any other class of subjects; but by this synod, four remarkable exemptions from the law of the country were made in favour of the clergy. The ecclesiastical lands were freed from all customary duties; the clergy were exempted from certain fines imposed by the Brehon code; they were empowered from thenceforth to receive tithes, or "the tenth of cattle, fruit, and all increase." The "faithful" were ordered to bequeath to them the *third* of their goods for burial, and masses for the soul, or the *half*, if the person dying were unmarried. Directions were given that marriage and baptism should be performed after the manner of the church of Rome; but the most important act passed by this synod was the last, that *henceforth, in all parts of the church of Ireland, all divine offices, (or every thing connected with divine service,) should be regulated after the pattern of the holy church, according to the usages of England.*

The nature of these regulations, which regard either religious or moral conduct, which were the result of the first great reformation meeting in Ireland, shows plainly that the adjustment of such matters was but a pretext made by Henry for his invasion of the country. In those places where the natives maintained their independence, they followed their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been. In proportion as the island became more and more under the control of a church which prohibited the Scriptures to the people, and performed the liturgy in a language with which they were unacquainted, error and superstition gained ground; the founding of a mo-

nastery was considered an atonement for a wicked life ; images were introduced into their churches ; certain individuals who were reckoned to have been of particular sanctity, were, after their death, canonized as *saints*, and prayers were offered for their intercession, as well as for that of the Virgin Mary.

Henry's last act in Ireland, was the giving of the English laws to that part of the country which had submitted to him, and which was afterwards known by the name of the PALE, consisting of the counties of Dublin and Meath, and the tract included between the city of Waterford and Dungarvan. For the better enforcing of these laws, he divided the lands into shires or counties, appointing to each county and city, sheriffs, judges, and all the legal officers which were usual in England, with the addition of a governor or representative of the king, who was to exercise royal authority in his majesty's absence. Being still fearful of the influence of Strongbow, he laboured to detatch the original adventurers from him, and by grants and promises, to bind them more firmly to the royal service. To make amends for what he had taken from Fitz-Stephen, he bestowed on him a considerable district in the neighbourhood of Dublin : Waterford was committed to De Bohun, Fitz-Bernard, and De Gundevil ; Wexford to Fitz-Andelm, Hastings, and Philip de Braosa ; and to Hugh de Lacy was given the entire of the territory of Meath. That lord was also made governor of Dublin, where Henry commanded a castle to be built, and ordered that fortresses should be erected in all other "convenient places." He had hardly time to conclude these arrangements, when he was summoned by the pope to answer for the death of Becket, and to this premature recall may

be attributed many of the misfortunes which Ireland suffered for ages. The difficult task of providing for the government of that colony, would have been discharged by him in a manner different from that in which it was accomplished by those on whom it devolved, as is ascertained by the effect of his presence during the six months he remained in the kingdom, since so long a period of unbroken peace is hardly to be found in its annals. He sailed from Wexford in the spring of 1173, and met the cardinals in Normandy, where his submission was accepted by Pope Alexander the Third, who confirmed the grant of Ireland made to him by Adrian his predecessor.

Hardly had his royal master departed, when De Lacy began to parcel out the lands of Meath amongst his dependents, a step which excited considerable uneasiness to O'Ruarc, who had long possessed the eastern part of that territory. To adjust the matter, he requested an interview at Tara with De Lacy, where, unperceived by the English knight, he made a signal to a band of kerns whom he had placed in ambush, and who suddenly rushed on De Lacy and his party. O'Ruarc, however, paid the penalty of his treachery, being killed in the skirmish that ensued, by De Lacy, who sent his head to England as that of a traitor.

The difficulties in which Henry was involved, by the rebellion excited by his sons in Normandy, soon diverted his attention from the affairs of Ireland; and the natives of that half-conquered island, were not slow in taking advantage of the dissensions produced by the fierce rivalry between Raymond le Gros and Harvey de Mountmorres. In 1174, the Irish chieftains rose in rebellion against their new master, and Henry was obliged once more to send

Strongbow, who had gone to his assistance in Normandy, back to Ireland, promising that Wexford should be the reward of his services.

The earl successfully attacked the chiefs of Offaly, and besieged and took the city of Waterford, in which Mac Carthy of Desmond had fortified himself. By refusing his sister in marriage to Raymond, Strongbow mortally offended that young lord, who retired with his forces into Wales. But an unsuccessful attempt made by Strongbow, in conjunction with Mountmorres, soon showing how necessary to him was Raymond, who was the darling of the soldiery, he condescended to solicit his return, promising to bestow on him the hand of his beautiful sister; the nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and Raymond immediately marched against Roderic, who had undertaken an expedition to Meath, to expel the English colonists. Raymond's usual good success attended him. Roderic was vanquished; and, as a last resource, to preserve his hereditary province from Henry's vengeance, in the year 1175, he repaired to London, where he did homage to the king as his liege lord. On this condition, he was permitted to hold his kingdom of Connaught, and to exercise jurisdiction—with the exception of the lords of the Pale—over all the kings, princes, and nobles of Ireland; these were to pay, through his hands, an annual tribute to England. De Lacy, however, was deprived of the government of Dublin in 1181 for marrying Roderic's daughter without licence of Henry.

O'Brien, chieftain of Thomond, who had laid siege to Limerick, on hearing that Raymond was marching to attack him, suddenly drew off his troops; and the young commander was about to enter and arrange matters there, when a letter was brought him from his wife, saying, that "her great tooth, which had so

long been troublesome, had at length fallen out, and that she therefore entreated him to return to Dublin as speedily as possible." Raymond guessing the meaning of this enigmatical epistle, and judging that his presence was necessary in Dublin, was much perplexed at being obliged so abruptly to leave Limerick. Resolving, however, to trust, where he could not defend, he sent for O'Brien, and pretending to confer a compliment on him, consigned Limerick to his custody, charging him to preserve it for the king of England. With equal dissimulation, the Irish chieftain accepted the trust; but hardly had Raymond passed the bridge, when it was broken down, and the city set on fire in four different quarters, by O'Brien, who declared that "it should be no longer a nest of foreigners!"

When Henry was told of this, by some of the enemies of the young general, who wished by it to throw a slur upon his conduct, the king generously replied, that "the first gaining of Limerick was a noble exploit; the recovery of it still nobler; but that the only act of wisdom was the abandoning of the conquest in this manner."

On arriving in Dublin, in 1176, Raymond found that he had interpreted Basilia's letter correctly: the death of Strongbow was the event which she had wished to intimate; and her apprehension that her dispatch might fall into the hands of the enemy, had led her to express it in mysterious language. The obsequies, which had been deferred till the arrival of the son-in-law of the deceased, were performed with great ceremony, by Archbishop Lawrence O'Toole, and in the cathedral of Christ Church repose the remains of this celebrated warrior, who, though loaded with obloquy by the early Irish historians, as the devastator of their country, is described

by Giraldus Cambrensis, as having been brave in war, liberal and courteous in peace; of temper, composed and uniform; not too much elated by success, nor too greatly dejected by misfortune.

Raymond would have been elected chief governor of Ireland, in Strongbow's place, had not Henry, with a jealousy unworthy of a person of his ability, appointed William de Fitz-Andelm, 1177, to fill the vacant office. An assembly was convened by the new deputy, at Waterford, where Adrian's bull, which had been confirmed in 1157, by his successor, Alexander III., was, for the first time, solemnly promulgated, and Henry's pretended title to the sovereign dominion of all Ireland proclaimed in due form. This measure had hitherto been avoided, from an apprehension that the Irish would be irritated by the aspersions cast on their character in the bull. It was, however, through the influence of the clergy, that Henry hoped to incline the affections of the people towards his government; and to bend them to him the more securely, he had now recourse to papal authority.

To encourage private adventurers, the king had given, under the great seal, to John de Courcy, a valiant Anglo-Norman baron, and any one friend whom he should name, a grant of all the land which they should win by their sword in Ireland, exempt from any charge or tribute except their homage to the king, as absolute sovereign of the country. Sir John de Courcy having a strict friendship with Sir Armoric Tristrem, who had married his sister, proposed to him that whatever they won should be divided between them, an offer which Sir Armoric gladly embraced. On the landing of a body of English at Howth, near Dublin, a sharp conflict with the natives ensued, where De Courcy was disabled by

illness from fighting, but Sir Armoric so distinguished himself on the occasion, that the estates and title of Howth were awarded him for his share of the conquest. The two chieftains then led their retainers into those parts of Ulster which had not been subdued by the English. The prophecies of *Merlin*, a celebrated Welsh soothsayer, had made so great an impression on De Courcy's mind, that he is said to have slept with the volume under his pillow; and his Irish adherents, having declared to him that it had been long since foretold that Down should be won by a stranger on a white horse, with a shield charged with painted birds, he equipped himself accordingly, and attacked and gained possession of Downpatrick, from the united forces of its prince Dunleve, and Roderic the monarch of Ireland.

Sir Armoric, who in the seige of this town had fought with desperate bravery, could for some time after it was gained, be nowhere found; De Courcy distractedly sought for him in all directions, when at length he was discovered lying dangerously wounded, concealed under a hedge, whither he had crept, that his brother-in-arms might not be dispirited in the battle by seeing him in this sad condition; some honeysuckles lay scattered around him, which he had plucked from the hedge to support himself from fainting. Weak and exhausted from the loss of blood, he was carried on his shield to Downpatrick, where it required much medical skill, and the care of his faithful friend, to restore to him his wonted vigour.

Encouraged by De Courcy's example, and despising the weak government of Fitz-Andelm, many of the English lords determined to extend their territories. A fruitless attempt on Connaught was made by De Cogan, who was invited thither by Murtough, son of Roderic, to revenge an insult which he conceived the

inhabitants had offered him ; but on hearing of his approach, they burned down their churches, in which the English had permission to stow their provisions, and De Cogan, deserted by Roderic, and threatened with an invasion from Munster and Connaught, was obliged to make a hazardous retreat, leaving Murtough to the vengeance of his countrymen, who put out his eyes, with the consent of his severe and stern father.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY II.—JOHN—RICHARD I.

1178 TO 1199.

FITZ-ANDELM having been removed from the deputyship, was, in 1178, replaced by Hugh De Lacy, who proved himself an active and impartial governor, who endeavoured to heal the breaches with the native princes. In the same year Henry conferred on Prince John the title of “Lord of Ireland,” and all grants of land thenceforth bestowed on the English settlers were to be held of him and of his son John.

The bishops and clergy of Ireland, considering themselves not sufficiently rewarded by the king for submitting to the introduction of the papal sway into their country, became discontented, and archbishop O'Toole even undertook a journey to Rome for the purpose of appealing against his sovereign. He was graciously received by the pope, and raised to the dignity of legate ; and, thus armed, he was returning to Ireland ; but Henry, who was aware of his intention, wisely stopped him when he had gone as far as Normandy ; there he spent the remainder of his days, and died in 1181. He was the second Irish eccle

siastic who was canonized at Rome, (as Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, had been, about 1150,) and a review of his life affords an instance of the unfitness of erring mortals to receive such honour; for while his morality deserves respect, it must be regretted that his ambition too often assumed the cloak of sanctity to cover its daring projects. He was succeeded by Comyn, the first Irish bishop who was nominated by an English king, and his appointment was confirmed by Pope Lucius III.

For five years, Fitz-Stephen and De Cogan remained in undisturbed possession of Desmond, when the latter nobleman was assassinated, together with a favourite son of Fitz-Stephen's, at Waterford, at the house of an Irishman who had invited them to a banquet. While plunged in grief by this melancholy event, Fitz-Stephen was attacked by Mac Carthy; he was rescued by his gallant nephew, Raymond le Gros, but sorrow, fatigue, and anxiety proved too much for him, and, preying upon a mind already weakened by age, deprived the unhappy veteran of reason.

In 1182, Henry appointed Richard de Cogan, brother to Milo, to supply his place, and with him came over a second time the historian Giraldus Cambrensis, for the purpose of collecting such information as might be useful to Prince John in his future government of the kingdom. Whilst Giraldus put many queries to the ecclesiastics, regarding the state of their hierarchy, they dwelt with enthusiasm on the illustrious acts of those holy men, whose piety and learning had adorned the church of Ireland, and boasted in particular of the purity of their saints. "Saints!" exclaimed Giraldus, with the utmost self-sufficiency, "yes, you have your saints, but where are your martyrs? I cannot find one Irish martyr in your calendar." "No!" replied the prelate of Cashel,

not a little piqued, and who probably looked on the death of Becket as a real martyrdom—"it must be acknowledged that as yet our people have not learned such enormous guilt as to murder God's servants; but now that Englishmen have settled in our island, and that Henry is our sovereign, we may soon expect enough of martyrs to take away this reproach from our church!"

In 1182 several of Ireland's very ancient monastic buildings were founded, as those of Limerick, and of Holycross near Cashel, by Donald Carbragh O'Brien, king of Munster; the monastery of Colp near Drogheda, by Hugh de Lacy; and the abbey of Dunbrody, by Harvey de Mountmorres, who, after laying its foundation, returned to England, and became a monk in the monastery of Christ Church.

Henry, whose greatest weakness seems to have been that of distrusting the persons who served him faithfully, at the suggestions of De Lacy's enemies recalled him, and sent Philip de Braosa as governor in his stead. He was in his turn soon superseded by Prince John, to whom Urban III., the reigning pope, sent over by his legate and cardinals a diadem of peacocks' feathers, with which they were commissioned to crown John king of Ireland; but Henry, not choosing to commit so great a trust to the charge of the prince, in his son's name declined the offered dignity.

John was twelve years of age when he first arrived in Ireland, accompanied by a numerous train. "The Irish potentates," says Giraldus, "flocked to Waterford to see their new prince, but their trowes, mantles, glibs, and behaviour, were ridiculed by the Norman courtiers, who could not conceal their contempt and astonishment at the marks of what they pronounced rudeness and barbarism. One of the Irish chieftains patted the

prince on the head, another pulled him by the mantle, and at last one of them, according to his country's notions of respect, attempted to kiss him, his attendants rushed in to prevent this violation of decorum, when the whole assembly burst into peals of laughter and plucked the beards, and committed various personal indignities upon their guests and allies, who turned their backs upon their court, boiling with indignation." The continuance of this Norman insolence made John so unpopular, that after eight months he was recalled to England by his father. De Lacy, who had been so injudiciously turned out of office to make room for the prince, was no longer forthcoming; he had ordered a fort to be erected at Durrow, in the Queen's County, on the site of the venerable abbey founded by St. Columb, an act which was considered by the workmen whom he employed, as one of the deepest sacrilege; and whilst he was stooping to inspect the building, a chieftain named O'Mealey, whom he had offended, and who had disguised himself as a labourer, drawing his battle-axe, which he had concealed under the folds of his mantle, struck off the offender's head, and, seizing it by the hair, threw it ignominiously amongst a heap of stones and mortar.

De Courcy was considered, next to him, the fittest person to rule the troublesome colony, and was therefore appointed governor of Ireland. His first measure was to lead an army into Connaught, which was in a disaffected state; but he soon was obliged to retreat from thence, on hearing that O'Brien of Thomond, and Cathal the son of Roderic, were leading their united forces against him. The Ulster chieftains also rose in rebellion, but were defeated by De Courcy, who burned Armagh, their principal city.

Worn out by anxiety caused by the disobedience of his sons, the treachery of his vassals, and the revolt of the Normans, Henry II. expired at Chinons, July, 1189, leaving the reduction of the turbulent kingdom of Ireland to his eldest son Richard I. The new monarch, who was too much engaged in foreign war to inquire into the extent of the royal power in that island, permitted John to make considerable grants to monasteries there, and to continue to appoint its chief governors. Like many persons of weak understanding, John allowed himself to be wholly ruled by his favourites, and Hugh de Lacy the younger, taking advantage of that infirmity, supplanted De Courcy in his royal master's favour, which so greatly affronted the fierce chieftain, that he resolved to shut himself up in Ulster, and attend exclusively to his own interests as a private adventurer. By detaching himself from De Lacy, the new governor, he betrayed to the natives the weakness of the English power; and gladly availing themselves of that knowledge, the chiefs of Thomond and Desmond, headed by Cathal O'Connor, resolved to attack De Courcy in his own province of Ulster.

The Baron perceived the gathering storm, and, aware that De Lacy would give him no assistance, collected his immediate followers, and sent to recall Sir Armoric Tristrem Lawrence from some distant enterprise in which he had been engaged. But O'Connor, receiving intelligence of this intention, determined to intercept him, and marched accordingly with a large body of troops to a defile through which Sir Armoric was obliged to pass. On reaching the spot, the horsemen of that young knight, seeing themselves surrounded by an army, whose numbers gave them no chance of victory, resolved to trust to

the speed of their chargers, when a voice was heard to exclaim from among the infantry, "Sir Armoric, thou worthy knight of knights, dishonour not the house thou art come of; far better thou hadst never been born! Remember, here is thy blood going to perish, and thy poor friends in the last extremity." The voice touched Armoric's heart; it was that of his youngest and favourite brother, the leader of the infantry. For a few moments he could make no reply, but at last, with a powerful effort, controlling himself, he exclaimed, "Who will, may save himself by flight, but I will not leave my friends in their extremity. Let our lives depart together, and my soul shall company with theirs at the latter day. To God I render my spirit; my heart to my wife and Sir John de Courcy; my force, might, and good-will to my friends and good fellows here." Then kneeling, he kissed the cross on the handle of his sword, and thrust it through his horse, exclaiming that it should never serve against those it had so worthily served before. A desperate encounter commenced, in which all his party were slain, except two whom he had stationed on a hill to bring tidings of the event to De Courcy. "And thus," say the chroniclers, "died Sir Armoric St. Lawrence, who, amongst a thousand cavaliers, might have been chosen for valour, beauty, and knightly courtesy."

To increase the public confusion, the city of Dublin was, at this time, almost totally destroyed by an accidental fire, and the country was infested by robbers, amongst whom was the "Little John" so constantly mentioned in the tales of the celebrated archer, Robin Hood.

In 1191, the cathedral of St. Patrick's was erected in Dublin, the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the pope's legate, consecrating the new edifice

with great pomp and ceremony "to God, our blessed Lady Mary, and Saint Patrick."

Hugh de Lacy was recalled from his government in 1195, and William le Petit, son-in-law of Strongbow, appointed in his place; and soon afterwards, O'Brien, encouraged by the success of Cathal, attacked and overthrew the English at Thurles, in Tipperary. In return, however, they invaded and ravaged the territory of O'Brien, where the Irish were unable to resist them, till the chieftain of Desmond, collecting his followers, wrested the city of Cork from the English forces, and drove them from the province of Limerick.

The rapid succession of deputies in the administration of the Irish colony, showed how troublesome was their task. Sir William le Petit, mortified by the success of Mac Carthy, willingly resigned his authority to Hamo de Valois, who undertook his office in a period of great embarrassment—Munster being evacuated by the English, Leinster with difficulty sustained, and De Lacy and De Courcy affecting independent sovereignty in their respective provinces. Much distressed for funds to preserve an army sufficient for the restoration of peace, De Valois made an attempt upon the ecclesiastical possessions, which was considered particularly sacrilegious at a period when the order of the clergy was esteemed so sacred; and Comyn, the archbishop of Dublin, having remonstrated, expostulated, and denounced vengeance in vain, at last repaired to his cathedral in all the solemn affliction of a confessor weighed down by persecution. Books, images, and chalices were removed by his order; and the crucifixes, laid prostrate on the ground, were crowned with thorns, "as if the majesty of heaven were dethroned by a contest about the property of an ecclesiastic." The Archbishop

having gratified his indignation by laying his diocese under the sentence of interdict, quitted the kingdom disregarded by Richard and John. Many “years afterwards De Valois granted the see of Dublin 20 *carrucates*, as atonement for his offences.”

During these disorders, in 1198, Roderic O’Conor, the last of the Irish monarchs, died in extreme old age, at the abbey of Cong, in the county of Mayo. Stern and severe against what was wrong, his public virtue might have shed honour and glory on a happier time. The punishment of Dermot MacMorragh led to the latter becoming the BETRAYER OF IRELAND, but the punishment was fully deserved at last ; for no severity can justify a man betraying his country. Roderick could be equally severe to his nearest in blood, when he found them equally guilty, as was sufficiently exemplified in the sacrifice of his son. Such chivalrous devotion to principle, however, could little avail against an enemy like Strongbow, capable of equal sacrifice. Strongbow’s adherents were united and true. Ireland forgot her duty to herself. What heroism can make a rope of sand ?

By the demise of Richard I., in the following year, and the accession of Prince John, the privileges, and title of “ Lord of Ireland,” reverted to the crown.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN—HENRY III.—EDWARD I.

1199 TO 1307

HAD John been undisputed successor to his brother, his increase of power might have afforded him greater facility for the settlement of Ireland ; but having seized on the throne which should have been occu-

pied by his nephew, Prince Arthur, he met with the usual difficulties of a usurper, and had neither leisure nor inclination to attend to the sister kingdom. Some former grants, indeed, were renewed by him, and Hamo de Valois, who had enriched himself by plundering both clergy and laity, was removed from his government in disgrace, and succeeded by Meyler Fitz-Henry, natural son to Henry I. He was brave and determined; but, unassisted by the king, and ill supported by the great lords, he had not an army of sufficient force to subdue those who, having obtained considerable power by the vast tracts of land bestowed on them, proved troublesome and refractory vassals.

Connaught now exhibited the strange and revolting spectacle of the English arming against each other, in support of the native princes. Cathal Croib-dhearg, the Red-handed, and Cathal Carragh O'Connor, chieftains of the blood royal of Connaught, aspired to the throne of that province. Carragh was assisted by De Burgo, while Cathal the Red-handed had formed an alliance with De Courcy, De Lacy, and O'Niall, the Irish lord of Tirowen. Fortune declared at first in favour of Carragh; but Cathal Croib-dhearg, who managed by bribery to detach De Burgo from the interests of his rival, was ultimately victorious, and then shamefully broke the promises which he had made to his English ally. De Burgo, imagining that he was sufficiently powerful to renounce his allegiance to his sovereign, fortified himself in Limerick, of which he had been appointed governor. He was, however, besieged and reduced by Meyler Fitz-Henry, O'Brien of Thomond, and the faithless Cathal, who dreaded that should De Burgo succeed, he would punish him for the breach of his solemn engagements. After the reduction of Limerick, Fitz-Henry was at

leisure to enter into a more formal treaty with his Irish allies; and they, harrassed by faction in their respective provinces, were willing, and even anxious, to seek the shelter of the English government. O'Brien gave hostages for his fulfilment of such conditions as shocked his countrymen; while the concessions of Cathal Croibh-dhearg, or the Red-handed, were still more humiliating—he agreed to surrender to King John two parts of Connaught, and to hold, only as a vassal, the third part, for which he promised to pay one hundred marks annually.

Hugh de Lacy had long secretly envied the power of De Courcy; and that lord, less cautious, though not more ambitious than his rival, having let fall some unguarded expressions respecting the murder of Prince Arthur, was impeached by De Lacy for treason. Cited to appear before the king, the haughty baron treated the summons with contempt. A large force was, therefore, sent against him, with which De Lacy, who was appointed to command it, penetrating into the heart of Ulster, received a total overthrow. His generous rival offered him an opportunity of retrieving his credit by single combat; but shrinking from an encounter hand to hand with that formidable baron, he preferred having recourse to bribery to accomplish his ruin, and promised a large sum of money to any one who should deliver De Courcy to him alive. Thus tempted, some treacherous domestics, as their master was engaged in performing a penance in the church-yard of Downpatrick, led a party of De Lacy's followers to his capture. The baron perceiving their intention, resolved that they should not accomplish it easily, and seizing a wooden cross which was fixed at the head of a grave, killed thirteen of their number. Unassisted, however, he was unable to continue the

unequal combat, and was overpowered, and sent by De Lacy to King John, who ordered him to close confinement in the Tower of London. The traitors, through whose means his capture had been accomplished, on claiming their reward, met with a reception which they little expected. With that abhorrence felt for the deceitful even by those who employ them, De Lacy sternly ordered that they should embark on board a vessel provided for the occasion, and gave them a passport, which he commanded them not to open till they should have landed. In this he related their perfidy, and peremptorily forbade any of the king's subjects, to whom they should apply, to receive or protect them. Rejected every where—exposed to sea without pilot and without provisions, they were, at length, driven into the harbour of Cork, where, by De Lacy's order, they were executed on the gallows. The difficulties in which King John was soon involved with his English subjects, rendering the recall of Hugh de Lacy necessary, Walter, his younger brother, and the archdeacon of Stafford, were appointed joint governors of Ireland.

About the year 1205, a violent dispute arose between the king and Pope Innocent III. as to the right of presentation to Irish bishoprics. In most of the grants made to the English Adventurers, the power of bestowing abbeys and bishoprics had been expressly reserved to "the Lords of Ireland." Availing himself of this, on the death of O'Conor, Archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, John named Humphrey de Tickhul, an Englishman, as his successor; Eugene Mac Gillivander, a native of Ireland, was, however, elected by his countrymen, perhaps, through the practices of Gilbert, the Irish legate.

King John addressed an appeal to the English legate against this irregular election, while Eugene

hastened to Rome, where his title was confirmed by the Pope. The king sent a peremptory letter to the clergy of Armagh, forbidding them to receive him, and on the demise of Tickhul, which happened in the midst of the disputation, again asserted the royal right, by nominating the archdeacon of Armagh to the primacy. The contest was long protracted, when at length Eugene, whose merit had gained the affections of the people, went to London, and by a bribe of three hundred marks of silver, and a hundred of gold, prevailed on the king to invest him with the rights of the see, and thus virtually to relinquish to the pope a prerogative which *till then he had never claimed*, that of presenting to the vacant bishoprics of Ireland.

In the same year a dreadful plague raged through Leinster, and made peculiar havoc in Dublin; and as seasons of public calamity are often those chosen by the lawless and necessitous for their depredations, this period was marked by an outrage which was long annually commemorated. Most of the inhabitants of Dublin who were at that time chiefly Bristol people, to whom Henry II. had made a grant of the city, having on Easter Monday assembled for recreation at a place called Cullenswood, about two miles from the capital, were attacked by some lawless septs, who lived amongst the Wicklow mountains, and above five hundred were inhumanly massacred. "In commemoration of this butchery," says Hollingshead, "it continued long to be a custom of the inhabitants of Dublin to hold an annual feast at the same spot on Easter Monday. There pitching their tents, they passed the day in sport and recreation; and, amongst other modes of celebrating the occasion, used to challenge, from time to time, the mountain enemy to come forth and attack them if they dared." In process of

time the singing-boys of the cathedrals, who were wont to be regaled there, were deputed to offer this defiance, "as if," says the same chronicler, "they were sufficient to defend the city."

When, in the commencement of his reign, John had been excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. for opposing his appointment of an archbishop of Canterbury, he dreaded that his British subjects, taking advantage of the difficulties in which he was plunged, should form a conspiracy against him. He had, therefore, demanded from his principal nobles, hostages for their peaceable behaviour; and, amongst others, he applied to William de Braosa, lord of Brecknock in Wales, who had received considerable grants in Thomond. The wife of that nobleman, far from complying with his demand, indignantly answered, that her children should never be entrusted to the man who had murdered his own nephew. Vengeance was, in consequence of this indiscretion, denounced against her and her husband; the arrears due to the king from his demesnes in Ireland were instantly demanded. On his first default in payment, orders were issued to seize his lands, and he fled with his family to his estate in Thomond. It was not till after a lapse of five years, when John had regulated his affairs in England sufficiently to permit of his absence, that he resolved to make an expedition into Ireland, meanly alleging as his reason, the necessity of reducing this outlaw. In June, 1210, he landed in Dublin, where no fewer than twenty princes are said to have paid him homage as vassals to the English crown. Amongst them were O'Nial of Tirowen, and Cathal, king of Connaught, who now renewed the engagements which he had made two years before to Fitz-Henry. Dreading the wrath of his sovereign, William de Braosa fled precipitately from the king-

dom, leaving his family at the mercy of one who had never showed mercy. His wife in a short time withdrew to Scotland, but was seized by John's agents, and though the queen's intercession was endeavoured to be propitiated by a present from the unhappy lady of four hundred milk white Irish kine, she and her children were sent prisoners to the castle of Bristol, where, by the king's order, they were inhumanly starved to death.

Hugh De Lacy, who feared that the various extortions committed during his government of Ireland might be closely looked into, hastened with his brother to France, where they remained for some time concealed as gardeners in the abbey of St. Taurin. The abbot, however, accidentally discovering their birth, appealed in their favour to the king, and on their payment of a certain sum of money, procured the royal pardon.

The English arms having penetrated into every province, the country exhibited an appearance of submission sufficient for the vanity of John, who flattering himself that it was entirely subdued, projected schemes for its government. When Henry II. divided the lands amongst the first adventurers, he stipulated that they should do homage for them as English subjects, and be governed by the English laws; but it does not appear that any code had been provided for the Irish, who were obliged in all cases of controversy to resort to England for decision. For the common benefit of all his people in Ireland, John enacted a "regular code and charter of laws," and for their effectual execution, besides the establishment of the king's courts of judicature in Dublin, he made a new division of the Pale into twelve counties, where sheriffs and other officers were appointed.

The following counties are those which are enumerated, as thus established by him—Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Argial (or Louth,) Catherlogh, (or Carlow,) Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary ; which marks the extent of the English territory, as being confined to a part of Leinster and of Munster, and to those portions of Meath and Louth which lie in the province of Ulster as now defined. The chiefs in the remote part of Ulster had not given John the dominion of their lands ; and no county was established in Connaught, as the English had as yet little real control there. After a visit of three months, John returned to England, having nominated De Grey, bishop of Norwich, to the dignity of chief governor ; and that prelate discharged his office with such vigour, that he was able to send a company of knights to the assistance of his royal master when he was threatened with an invasion by France ; he also ordered a new coinage of money, of the same weight with that of England, for the convenience or traffic between the two kingdoms. But notwithstanding his judicious administration the country was torn by contending factions—particularly in Connaught, where the prodigious grants of land made to the English appear to have been a source of perpetual strife. Cathal O'Connor, who possessed the title, without the power of king, on being invaded by some of the English settlers, applied to John for his assistance ; and the monarch, desirous of fixing him steadily in the interest of England by apparent kindness, granted his protection to Cathal, directing that he should be supported and defended, and that no unfavourable reports should be believed of him whilst he adhered to his allegiance ; and further to do him honour, and perhaps to smooth away the prejudices or

the Irish against the costume of their invaders, he ordered the governors Henry de Loundres and Geoffrey de Maurisco, to purchase a sufficient quantity of scarlet cloth to robe the kings of Ireland.

The brave De Courcy meanwhile languished in prison, until the year 1212, when he is said to have been released in a romantic manner. A dispute having occurred between John and Philip Augustus, king of France, about a fort in Normandy, the sovereigns agreed to decide the matter according to the custom of the times by a single combat between a French and an English warrior. A champion immediately stood forth on Philip's part, but none appeared on that of England, when an officer privately suggested to John that there was one who *could* answer the challenge, but that he was in the tower of London. The king bethought him of De Courcy; thrice he sent to entreat his assistance, and thrice the baron refused to comply with the entreaty. At last he gave a stern consent, on condition that his own armour should be brought him from Ireland, not, as he said, for the sake of the king, who was unworthy of being fought for, but to retrieve the insulted honour of his country. The day arrived, the lists were prepared, the trumpets gave their first and second call, and the champions made their appearance. "As De Courcy passed his French antagonist, he gave him such a fiery glance, as made the heart of the knight to die within him," and when the third summons of the trumpets sounded, he "took himself to flight!" On this the English heralds proclaimed that victory belonged to De Courcy; but the monarchs, not satisfied that his fame should on this occasion be so easily acquired, demanded that he should show some feat of strength before the spectators separated. By the desire of the English champion, a stake was fixed in the ground, on which were hung

a helmet and a suit of armour ; after a haughty glance at the princes, De Courcy, drawing his sword, struck it through the armour so deeply into the stake, that no one could draw it out but himself. On the monarchs inquiring why he had given so fierce a look at them, he answered haughtily, that the look was meant to express that, if he failed in his attempt, he would have assuredly cut off their heads. “ By my faith,” said Philip, “ I thank thee for thy courtesy, and advise my royal brother quickly to yield thee such demands as thou mayest please to make ; for it is better to propitiate than enrage the fury of the lion.” In conformity with this advice, John is said to have not only restored him his Ulster possessions, but offered to increase his territory ; which the baron refused, saying that he would but accept restitution of that which was his own ; but as a mark of the royal favour, demanded and obtained the singular privilege for himself and his descendants, of from henceforth wearing the head covered in the presence of their sovereign.

The many contests which had taken place between the pope and John, ended by the king, in 1214, shamefully doing homage to the Legate Pandolf for his dominions, which he consented to hold henceforward as fiefs of the see of Rome ; but the last and most important act of his reign was to grant the famous charter of liberty, known by the name of *MAGNA CHARTA*.

On the death of John, in October, 1216, his eldest son, Henry the Third of that name who had reigned in England, succeeded to the throne, in the ninth year of his age. In the beginning of this young prince's reign, Ireland was in a state of greater tranquillity than it had enjoyed for many years. Half a century had passed since Henry the Second's invasion, during which time the power of the native chieftains had been considerably lessened, and the English

settlers were satisfied by seeing the regency in the hands of the Earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of first-rate talent, and possessed of a sufficient quantity of property in Ireland to ensure his attachment to their interests.

Soon after Henry's accession, the Irish lords represented to him the various grievances under which they had laboured during the administration of John, and complained particularly of his violent seizure of a considerable part of their property. A gracious answer was returned by the king, signifying that it was "his earnest desire that all resentment between the crown and the nobles should be done away, and that his faithful subjects in Ireland should enjoy the same liberties which had been granted to his people of England."

But on the death of the Earl of Pembroke, in 1219, the troubles of this island began afresh. A contest arose about some lands which had belonged to him, but were now claimed by Hugh De Lacy. William, heir to the title and estates of Pembroke, was obliged to hasten to Ireland to defend his rights, and according as either party prevailed, the property of his antagonist suffered.

An insurrection in Desmond was quelled by the deputy, Geoffrey De Maurisco, at which O'Brien becoming alarmed, consented to pay an annual rent during Henry's minority for his kingdom of Thomond. Henry had promised De Burgo that on the death of Cathal, he should enjoy the reversion of his dominions of Connaught; but when that prince expired in 1223, the Irish regardless of the king's engagement, proceeded to elect a successor, and conferred that dignity on Turlogh, the brother of Cathal. So bold a defiance of government, drew down on the offenders the vengeance of Geoffrey de Maurisco. A furious struggle

ensued, during which the crown of Connaught, after having passed from Turlogh to Aedh, a son of Cathal, was settled at last, by the interference of De Burgo on the brow of Feidhlim, Aedh's brother.

By assisting this prince, De Burgo hoped that he forwarded his own interest; but no sooner was Feidhlim established on the throne, than he forgot the services of his ally, and refused to admit his claim to any of the lands in Connaught; whereupon the English lord declared in favour of Turlogh, who was soon slain by his successful rival.

Irritated against De Burgo, whom he had thus provoked to take part against him, Feidhlim, hearing in a little time that he had fallen into disgrace with the king, seized that moment to make complaints against him, which he offered to go to London to substantiate. Henry promised him a gracious reception, dispatched orders to Maurice Fitzgerald, then governor, to inquire minutely into the matter, but recommended Feidhlim, before he quitted Ireland, to reduce a certain castle which was disloyally detained by De Burgo. With this Feidhlim was for some time satisfied. He had not only the king's permission, but his command to act against his enemy, and whilst he boasted the support of the English monarch, no faction attempts were made to dispute his jurisdiction.

Public attention was shortly drawn to another circumstance which involved the country in considerable perplexity.

In 1231, William, Earl of Pembroke, dying, was succeeded in his title and estates by Richard, his brother, whose gallant and chivalrous spirit made him the idol of the people; but who, unluckily, incurred Henry's displeasure by some contemptuous expressions regarding his favourite minister, Pierre de Roche, bishop of Winchester. Richard, cited to answer for this

offence, disregarded the summons, and in consequence was deprived of his office of earl marshal, and proclaimed a traitor.

Retiring for safety to Wales, he entered into a confederacy with Llewellen, the Welsh king; and Henry, having made various efforts to draw him from thence, in 1234 permitted the bishop to revenge himself in a base and treacherous manner. That prelate sent letters, bearing the royal seal, to Geoffrey de Maurois, Maurice Fitzgerald, De Burgo, De Lacy, and other barons, informing them of Richard's treason, and ordering that, if he landed in Ireland, they should send him to the king dead or alive, promising as a reward the reversion of his inheritance. The integrity of the nobles was not proof against such a bribe; they dispatched a messenger to Richard, by whom they advised his speedy return to Ireland, stating that some of the English had seized on his castles there. The impetuous earl fell into the snare; he hastened to Leinster, where, after a slight pretended resistance, he was allowed to recover his castles, and then, at the instigation of the barons, he took the city of Limerick, and, after binding the citizens by oath to his service, still extending his conquest, he ravaged the royal territories. De Burgo and the De Lacys affected to fly before him, commissioning their creatures to inform him, that as liege men to Henry, they could not look tamely at his doings, but that, to prevent effusion of blood, they were willing to come to an amicable arrangement, and that for this purpose they ardently desired a truce. By the counsel of Geoffrey de Maurois, who affected to be his zealous partisan, Richard refused this offer, but consented to decide the matter by a combat between an equal number of their respective followers. The parties met on the plain of Kildare, when, at the very moment of the onset, the

treacherous Geoffrey suddenly advised the earl to yield, stating that De Lacy, being married to his sister, he could not assist him as he desired to do; and so saying, he coolly led off eighty of his followers, leaving Richard with only fifteen soldiers to contend against ninety-five. He disdained to yield, but perceiving death to be inevitable, turned with tears in his eyes to his youngest brother, entreating him to seek for shelter in a neighbouring castle, as he was of too tenderage to join the conflict. With evident mortification the youth complied, and a desperate and unequal battle commenced. At length unhorsed and attacked by a traitor from behind, who plunged a dagger into his back, Richard fell; and being conveyed to one of his fortresses then in Fitzgerald's hands, breathed his last in the midst of enemies, with but one page of his own household to soothe his dying moments.

Providence did not, however, permit the contrivers of his ruin to reap the benefits which they had expected from their perfidy, for they were prevented from enjoying the reversion of his possessions by perpetual contentions as to the division of the booty, while for the bishop of Winchester the most mortifying disgrace was prepared. The sensation caused by the death of the young earl, who had been popular both in England and Ireland, made it necessary for the king to summon an assembly of the nobles to take into consideration the distracted state of the realm, when the archbishop of Canterbury produced a copy of the royal letter to the barons, signed by the minister and his creatures; Henry perceiving its effect rose up, and basely denied that he had any knowledge of its contents, though he confessed that the bishop of Winchester had compelled him to affix the royal seal; he affected the deepest sorrow for Richard's fate, ordered his chaplain to perform masses for his

soul, and appointed his brother Gilbert to succeed him as earl marshal. The bishop of Winchester was next summoned; but finding himself deserted by the princely partner of his guilt, he fled for sanctuary to his cathedral. His influence and power were in a moment overthrown, for the people, no longer placing confidence in their sovereign, insisted on his foreign favourites being banished, and the government of the realm being restored to the hands of Englishmen.

Connaught meanwhile had been harassed by perpetual contests between Feidhlim and De Burgo, which lasted till the year 1244, when Feidhlim, sailing for London, made a formal complaint of the rapacity of that lord, who having won the governor, Fitzgerald, to his party, under the pretence of quelling an insurrection, had ravaged, and finally possessed himself of a considerable part of Connaught. Feidhlim, however, confined his accusations to De Burgo, whose injustice he so successfully demonstrated, that the king wrote to Fitzgerald, to reinstate Feidhlim in his possessions, and "to pluck up by the roots that fruitless sycamore, De Burgo, which the Earl of Kent in his insolence had planted in those parts, nor suffer it to bud forth any longer."

During the reigns of the two successive Welsh princes, Llewellen and David, the claim of England to feudal superiority over them involved the kingdoms in perpetual warfare; and in 1245, Henry, being hard pressed by the Welsh, commanded Fitzgerald to lead a body of Irish troops to his assistance, when Feidhlim evinced his gratitude by attending him with a large body of soldiers from Connaught, with whom he did effectual service. The sufferings of the English, during this tedious campaign, were very great, and are described, with the vividness of truth, in the following extract from a letter written by an officer

in Henry's camp:—"The king, with part of his army, lyeth at Gannock, fortifying that strong castle, and we live in our tents, watching, fasting, and freezing with cold; we watch, for fear of the Welshmen, who are wont to invade and come upon us in the night time—we fast, for lack of food, for the half-penny loaf is worth five pence—and we starve with cold, wanting our winter garments, having no more than a linen cloth between our bodies and the wind." Although it was owing to the reinforcement led to his aid by Fitzgerald that the war had terminated in favour of Henry, yet, conceiving that he had been tardy in assisting him, he displaced him from his government, to which he again appointed the Lord Geoffrey de Maurisco. Upon which, Fitzgerald, becoming indifferent to the interests of his sovereign, proceeded to enlarge his own territories by force, and encroached on the sept of Mac Carthy in Desmond. By this conduct the island was speedily thrown into a state of confusion, which was still further increased by the deaths of Richard de Burgo, Hugh de Lacy, and Geoffrey de Maurisco, which all occurred nearly at the same period.

In Ulster, the chief of Tirconnell, who had been recently all but subdued by Maurice Fitzgerald, took up arms against the new governor, Maurice, son of Geoffrey de Maurisco. He, however, with the aid of several native chieftains, who availed themselves of this opportunity to revenge their private quarrels, happily quelled the insurrection. The west of the island was also disturbed by the attempts of Walter the successor of Richard de Burgo, to recover some tracts in Connaught, from which he had been spiritedly driven away by Feidhlim.

In a country where the stronger party could thus oppress the weaker with impunity, the laws of Eng

land were openly set at defiance by the inhabitants of the Pale. In 1228, Henry had found it requisite to make proclamation in every county, that the infringement of the statutes should be punished by the forfeiture of the lands of the offender. But how little his menace was regarded, appeared in 1246, when a proclamation was again issued from the throne, enjoining the barons, for the sake of peace and tranquillity, to *permit* the land to be governed by the laws of England. All was, however, unavailing. The laity preferred the old system, because it allowed them absolute control; and the clergy, because by having it in their power to confine the benefits of the English jurisdiction to their immediate vassals, they were able to show to all more plainly the advantage of being in the bosom of **THE CHURCH**. Careless in their conduct towards their own countrymen, the settlers were still more regardless towards the poor Irish, whose situation became in consequence truly deplorable.

The pressing emergencies of Henry the Second, had prevented him from bringing the whole of the country under the jurisdiction of England. The natives at that time did not desire that he should do so, being ignorant of the advantages of the British constitution, and incapable of tracing their disturbances to the imperfection of their own. Henry the Third had made effort to tranquillize the colony, by sending over **governors**, who were both impartial and energetic; but they were not supported by a military force sufficient to give weight to their authority. To repress the violences of his barons in Ireland, some feeble efforts were made by Henry, by sending a succession of Englishmen to the government, unconnected with the powerful settlers, without partialities or private views, but addicted solely to the service of their master; we find the names of Alan de la

Zouch, Stephen Longespee, William Den, Richard de Capella, David Barry, Robert de Ufford, Richard de Exeter, James Audley, all entrusted with the administration of government in this kingdom, and succeeding each other at such short intervals as plainly indicate distraction in English councils, as well as an irregular and disordered state of things in Ireland. But at length, in 1253, the king devised an expedient, which might have been productive of the happiest consequences to the distracted land, had its inhabitants been aware of the blessings of a regular government. That measure was the investiture of Prince Edward, his eldest son, with the lordship of Ireland, to be held of him and his heirs for ever, on condition that the kingdom should never be alienated from the crown of England. The prince prepared to fix his residence in Dublin, but was unfortunately prevented from leaving England, by the difficulties which soon embarrassed his father; he was obliged to trust his affairs to deputies, who were jealously watched and perpetually thwarted by officers whose commissions had been previously bestowed by the monarch. Miserable was now the state of the country, from famine, disease, and civil war. In the year 1259, O'Neill headed an insurrection in Tyrone, but was slain by the treachery of his own people in an encounter with Long Espee, Earl of Salisbury, the deputy. In Desmond, the Geraldines had, since the removal of their kinsman Maurice from the government, assumed absolute power, making peace and war by their own authority. The natives had been provoked by their severity; and on the demise of Maurice, who, like most of the conspirators against the young Earl of Pembroke, had died in disgrace and retirement, M'Carthy, the hereditary prince of Desmond, took arms to expel the Geraldines from

the province. In a fierce and decided engagement, fortune favoured the Irish, and for some time these fierce rivals were kept under tolerable restraint. Elated with this success, the Mac Carthys, in a little time, turned their arms against some Irish septs who had provoked them; and growing more and more bold at length interfered with the pretensions of Walter de Burgo, who quickly marched against them, overcame them and slew their leader. On Capella, the deputy, remonstrating against these violences, Fitz-Maurice and Fitz-Thomas, the heads of the Geraldine faction, seized and imprisoned him, with Richard de Burgo, and other English noblemen.

In the year 1262, Henry being engaged in war at once with Wales, Scotland, France, and Spain, made a very unreasonable demand upon his Irish subjects—being no less than that of a fifteenth of the revenues of the cathedrals, churches, and religious houses, and a sixteenth of all other ecclesiastical incomes. The requisitions of the pope were still more intolerable: to supply his nuncios with money, the laity were stripped of their possessions, and the churches of their ornaments. For their private purposes, the legates had been for some time in the habit of visiting Ireland, under pretext of absolving penitents who had laid violent hands on the clergy: but the king having reason to suspect their motives, issued orders that the authority of these Romish emissaries should be strictly confined to their pretended object. They were thenceforth reduced to have recourse to clandestine management, and this was rendered easier by Henry's partiality for foreigners, which led him to permit the country to be overrun with Italian ecclesiastics. These men receiving the revenues of the church, while they neglected to perform its duties, repeated remonstrances were made,

which at last roused him to desire that the agents of the pope should be more careful in the disposal of the benefices, and put a stop to the extortions made by their clergy.

The accounts of the influence acquired by these ecclesiastics, alike over the high-born and the vulgar, would be reckoned incredible, were not many such instances as the following but too well authenticated. The bishop of Ferns had excommunicated the great Earl of Pembroke, under pretence of his having seized two manors belonging to the church. On the death of that nobleman, the bishop appeared before the king to claim these manors, when Henry ordered him to pronounce absolution at the earl's tomb. The prelate attended the king thither, and in his royal presence uttered these words with affected solemnity—"Oh, William, thou that liest fast bound in the chain of excommunication, if what thou hast injuriously taken away be restored by the king, or his heirs, or any of thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee! Otherwise, I ratify thy sentence, that being bound in thy sins, thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever!" The heir would not restore the manors, and the bishop confirmed his malediction.

Excommunication was pronounced without reserve on all who presumed to dispute the authority of the church; and the king directing that the sentence should be enforced, it became at last so often repeated, that the pope was obliged to check this irregular use of spiritual authority. The exactions made on the clergy, drove them in turn to make reprisals on the laity; and the most extravagant impositions were laid on, under the name of *oblations to the faithful*. The magistrates of Dublin, on one occasion, presuming to interfere, and to circumscribe

the revenues of the cathedral, the archbishop put the whole city under an interdict, and the inhabitants were reduced to a composition at once ridiculous and mortifying. It was agreed, that in cases of notorious offences, a commutation in the first instance might be made for money; in the second, the offender should be cudgelled round the church; in the third, that the same discipline should be performed in a public procession; and in case of continued resistance, the delinquent was sentenced to be either disfranchised or cudgelled through the city.

In the year 1270, during the administration of Sir James Aldethel, or Audeley, one of the numerous governors who ruled the country during this reign, a desperate effort was made by the natives to expel the English settlers. In Ophally, they destroyed all the fortified places, while the prince of Connaught took the field against Walter de Burgo, put his forces to the rout, and killed a number of his knights and nobles.

Edward the First succeeded his father to the crown of England, in 1272, and his political and military talents for some time found sufficient employment in regulating the disorders of that country, reducing Wales, and contending with Scotland. Sir James Audeley having been killed by a fall from his horse, was succeeded by Maurice Fitzmaurice, who was ordered by the new sovereign to march to some of the most disturbed districts of Leinster; but such was his weakness, that he was betrayed by his own followers, and treacherously imprisoned. Nor had his successor, Glenville, the son-in-law of Walter de Lacy, better fortune: the very seat of government was insulted; and in attempting to punish this audacity, he received a decisive overthrow. Ulster was harassed by the Scotch; petty factions of both English and Irish, pursuing private schemes of interest

and revenge, bid defiance to legal authority; and during the first years of Glenville's administration a desolating civil war continued incessantly.

Fitz-Maurice, when released from confinement, retired to his territory in Ophally, to excite fresh disturbances, his influence having been considerably increased by his daughter's marriage with the son of the Earl of Gloucester, Lord de Clare, to whom Edward had granted considerable property in Thomond, and who, having got footing in that territory, proceeded on a course of open and flagrant treachery. The O'Briens boldly remonstrated against his encroachments, and the young English lord treating their remonstrances with disdain, they brought their dispute to the issue of the sword, when the Irish were defeated, and their chieftain killed in the battle; but the war was renewed by his valiant sons, and ended in the overthrow of the English party. De Clare, with his father, the Earl of Gloucester, were driven for shelter to an almost inaccessible mountain, where, reduced to the utmost distress by famine, they were obliged to capitulate, on the most mortifying terms, leaving to the Geraldines and the O'Briens the undisputed sovereignty of Thomond.

Provoked by these vexations, the king passionately recalled Ufford, who had succeeded Glenville as deputy; but being satisfied with the explanation which he gave of his conduct, again sent him to Ireland.

While the country in general groaned under the horrors of intestine war, there was a large body of the Irish, whose situation was peculiarly unprotected. From the time of Henry the Second, some broken clans and smaller groups of the miserable natives had been permitted to dwell within and around the Pale, contemptuously tolerated in their ancient customs, but excluded from the benefits of the English

legislature. Few positions could be more forlorn—denied the advantages of either law, and subject to the penalties of both. If an English settler slew an Irishman, he was tried by the *Brehon* code, and subjected to a fine only; whilst, if a native killed an English settler, he was, by the *British* statutes, sentenced to be executed for murder. Perceiving that their only rational chance of safety was to be found in becoming subjects instead of vassals to England, those unhappy people sent to Ufford a touching petition, representing their situation, and offering 8000 marks to the king, provided he would grant them the free enjoyment of the English laws. A request wrung from them by such painful feelings, and in itself so reasonable, could not but be favourably received by a prince who, where ambition did not interfere, was an ardent lover of justice. He accordingly returned a gracious answer, in which he observed, that “inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish were hateful in the sight of God, and utterly at variance with justice,” it appeared expedient to him and his council, to grant to the people the English statutes, “provided they should have the consent of the English settlers, or, at least, of the well disposed prelates and nobles.” The king’s laudable intentions were, however, counteracted by the rapacious jealousy of those to whom he referred the petition. The English lords found it their interest that their system of rapine and massacre should not be brought before a severe tribunal, and that they should have an opportunity of making to the throne such representations as they desired, which could be accomplished, in rare instances, by their oppressed dependents. They, therefore, resolved to evade the petition, which they could not openly oppose. Edward was assured by them that immediate compliance with his demand was not possible—that

the kingdom was too much disturbed--that too many of the barons were dispersed on business, or were under age, so that an assembly could not be convened, sufficiently large to decide on a point of such importance. For two years the Irish waited in the vain expectation of relief, when they repeated, in the year 1280, their former appeal to the throne; and Edward enjoined on his nobles a compliance with his mandate, *under all circumstances*. By what pretext it was again evaded does not appear; but certain it is, that the monarch's equitable intentions were defeated; and during the whole period of his reign, those amongst his Irish subjects who were aggrieved were obliged to seek redress by individual petition. This neglect of sufferings which had been so affectingly represented, could not but justly irritate the natives of this island, and exasperate them more highly against their invaders. "If," says Sir John Davis, "the English would neither in peace governe them by the lawes, nor in warre root them out by the sworde, must they not needes be pricks in their eyes, and thornes in their sides, till the worlde's end?" They soon accordingly appeared in arms against government, led by the factious chief of Thomond; but being too weak to combat the English effectually, they succeeded only in ravaging those districts which were most exposed to their fury.

Nor were the wars by which the country was torn confined exclusively to the natives; continual skirmishes occurred also amongst the English nobles. The possession of part of Meath was contested between the Lords Theobald de Vernon and Geoffrey de Maurisco; while in another district of the same county, Lord Glenville was driven forcibly from his possessions. The death of De Clare, and the brothers Fitz-Maurice, which took place in the year 1286, promised to depress the power of the Geral-

duces, and to exalt, in proportion, that of their rival, De Burgo ; and, consequently, such a degree of authority was soon attained by the head of that haughty family, who was styled “The Red Earl,” that in the king’s letters the name of De Burgo is frequently mentioned before that of Archbishop Sandford, the deputy.

Edward had, with the pope’s permission, already obtained a *tenth* of the revenues of the Irish church, for the purpose of joining the crusades ; he now resolved, by his own power, to exact a fifteenth in addition, to defray some large debts which he had contracted on the Continent. The clergy resisted the attempt, and appealed successfully to Rome against such an encroachment on the papal authority. The king, failing in this endeavour, addressed himself to the laity, from whom, after a slight opposition, he managed to extort a fifteenth. To enforce these demands, Sir William de Vesci was, in 1290, appointed chief governor of Ireland. He was successful in suppressing the opposition of the Irish lords ; but proceeding to deal with those of the Pale, he provoked the lasting jealousy of Fitz-Gerald of Ophally. De Vesci, by his marriage with the co-heiress of Pembroke, had become possessor of the *territory* of Kildare, while Fitz-Gerald was *titular* earl of that district : who should enjoy both title and estates, was the matter in dispute, which at length they referred to the decision of Edward. “By your honour and mine, and by the king’s hand, my lord,” exclaimed Fitz-Gerald, in pleading before the throne, “you would, if you durst, accuse me, in plain terms, of treason or felony ; for while I have the title, and you the fleece of Kildare, I wot well how great an eyesore I am in your sight ; so that if I were handsomely trussed up as a felon, then might my master, your son, become a gentleman. Wherefore, to justify

that I am a true subject, and thou, De Vesci, an arch-traitor to God and the king, here, in the presence of this assembly, I challenge the combat." De Vesci accepted the challenge, "at which," says Rhymer, the chronicler, "all the auditory shouted:" but on the day appointed for the contest, when the lists were prepared, and an expecting crowd had assembled, it was discovered that De Vesci had privately withdrawn to France. This unchivalrous step being considered as an avowal of guilt, the king bestowed the property on Fitz-Gerald, observing, that "happily for him, though De Vesci had conveyed his person to France, he had left his lands behind him in Ireland." In the full flush of triumph, Fitz-Gerald commenced hereupon a course of insulting aggression on all who had taken part with his rival. Meath and Kildare were mercilessly ravaged by him, and the district of Ophally was entirely laid waste, between its English and its Irish invaders.

The pusillanimous De Vesci was succeeded, in 1295, by Sir John de Wogan, who, being superior to his predecessors in command of temper and soundness of judgment, managed, in a great measure, to tranquillize the country. Having prevailed on Fitz-Gerald and De Burgo to agree to a truce for two years, he turned his thoughts towards regulating the public disorders. The prelates, nobles, and commons, had at various times been called to deliberate on public affairs; but Sir John de Wogan convened the first assembly of this nature in Ireland which had the appearance of a regular PARLIAMENT. Here many salutary statutes were enacted: by one, a new division of the kingdom into counties was ordered, as that which had been made under King John was found to be defective. The frequent absences of the Lords *Marchers* (or those who lived on the borders of the Pale, of which they

were Wardens) leaving their territories exposed to the incursions of the natives, it was ordained that they who so neglected to defend their lands, should be punished by forfeiture: it was also provided that all absentees (or persons residing out of the kingdom) should pay a just proportion towards the maintenance of an army sufficient for its defence. To check the *forays*, or plundering expeditions of the barons, a provision was made that no lord should engage in war without permission from the governor. The number of *kerns*, or idle followers of the English nobles, was restricted, and their masters made responsible for their depredations.

Although, from the country being distracted by separate factions, these statutes could not produce an effect so salutary so was desired, yet they gave, for some time, a considerable check to the public disorders; and this comparative calm emboldened the king to apply once more to the clergy for pecuniary assistance; and as the tenths formerly granted for the service of the Holy Land, and which Boniface VIII. the reigning pope, took upon him to collect, were seized by the king's order, and applied to the exigencies of his government, the pontiff, who had experienced the firmness and spirit of king Edward, ventured only to expostulate with gentleness, and affected to make him a free present of the revenue of those tenths which the king had already secured to his own use.

The revival of the war with Scotland, during John Comyn's regency, obliged the king repeatedly to enjoin his Irish subjects to devise means of assisting him in his projected expedition thither. In 1303, Fitzgerald attended his standard, and the earl of Ulster, accompanied by a gallant train, embarked in the Scottish campaign, in which he performed distinguished services. During the concluding years

of Edward's reign, Ireland relapsed into its usual state of civil war, and the attendant evils were increased by the oppressions of the clergy, who thought that they might venture to make further encroachments in consequence of their late obedience to the king. A melancholy instance of their violent and improper conduct is given in the following curious extract from the petition of Margaret le Blunde, a lady of consequence in Munster, who, after a representation of various grievances, implores Edward to grant redress against David Mac Mackerwayt, bishop of Cashel, for, amongst other outrages, "*imprisoning her grandfather and grandmother, where they died of hunger, because they sought redress on account of her father's death, killed by said bishop, and for the loss of her six brothers and sisters, starved to death by said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father.*" The petition concludes with the following touching appeal—"It is to be noticed also, that the aforesaid Margaret hath *five times* crossed the Irish sea; wherefore she beseeches, for God's sake, that the king's grace will have compassion, and that she may be admitted to take possession of her inheritance."

This oppressive conduct was attended with the consequences which might be naturally expected. Not only did it prove an insurmountable obstacle to further improvement, but it seemed to have obliterated all traces of that learning and civilization for which this island had been in former ages remarkable.*

* In the seventh year of this reign a new coin had been struck by order of the king, who fixed a certain standard for money in England and Ireland. A specimen of this coin appears to have been found near Youghal, in 1830, and to have been purchased by the late Dean of St. Patrick's. It exactly resembles the pennies of Edward I., but is of ruder workmanship, and bears the king's head, without the triangle.

CHAPTER IX.

EDWARD II.—EDWARD III.

1307 TO 1377.

THE two first acts of Edward the Second were in open disobedience to the dying injunctions of his father. The first was, issuing an order for the dispersion of a gallant army, which had been collected for the subjugation of Scotland; and the second, recalling to court, Piers Gavestone, a young man who had been expelled from thence on account of his dissolute conduct. Unable to endure the insolent and haughty manners of the favourite, the courtiers insisted on his again being banished; and, afraid to offend his nobles, and unwilling to mortify Gavestone, the king appointed him governor of Ireland.

That measure might have been productive of the happiest effects, as his handsome person, engaging manners, and daring courage, won the affection of the army, led by him with success in several expeditions against the turbulent natives; but the lords of the Pale soon became disgusted by the same insolence which had made him obnoxious in England, and which was particularly offensive to De Burgo, who was accustomed to a degree of homage little inferior to that which was paid to royalty. Before his conduct, however, could produce an injurious effect on the country, Gavestone was superseded in his government by Sir John Wogan, the second person of that name who had been Deputy. But the state of the kingdom was not much improved under a ruler, who wasted his time in arranging points of etiquette amongst the clergy, whilst the nobles

carried on their petty wars without control or apprehension.

De Burgo marched into Thomond in support of some of his rights. He was there defeated by the Geraldines ; but the feuds between the two houses were in some measure healed by the marriage of Thomas and Maurice Fitzjohn, to two daughters of De Burgo, from which alliance sprang the great families of Desmond and Kildare.

To Sir John Wogan followed, in rapid succession as Lords Deputy, Sir Theobald de Vernon, and the Lords Edmund Spencer and Butler. Under the administration of the latter, the attention of government was, in 1314, drawn from the contentions of rival septs, to the threatened invasion of Edward Bruce, (brother of the famous Robert Bruce, king of Scotland,) a daring young chieftain, who appeared with a formidable force upon their north eastern coasts.

The Irish, who, since the days of the Albanian settlement, which they considered to have been founded by brethren, felt a deep interest in the affairs of the Scottish nation, learned with delight that its deliverance from the English yoke had been effected by Robert Bruce ; and resolving to imitate the example of the Scotch, they despatched an embassy to that hero, requesting that he would give them his brother Edward for king. This proposal was very agreeable to the young and ambitious prince, who immediately began to prepare for an expedition to Ireland. With equal vigour the Lord Deputy set about opposing him ; but with a blindness to the interest of their country, which seemed unaccountable, the English government recalled him at the moment when his presence was most required. The following year he was sent back, but it was too late ;

the youthful adventurer had put his design into execution, and with six thousand hardy Scots landed in Ulster in the spring of 1315.

Had the English lords united cordially against the common enemy, his enterprise might have been crushed at once ; but his power to do them mischief was increased by the jealousies which they entertained of each other. De Burgo, earl of Ulster, assisted by Feidhlim, king of Connaught, marched against him ; but when Lord Edmund Butler offered his assistance, De Burgo answered with haughty conciseness, " You and your followers may return home—I and my vassals will overcome the Scot." Experience, however, soon taught him the contrary ; for coming up with the army of Bruce, near the river Bann, the earl was defeated, and one of his brothers taken prisoner, while " the Scot " triumphantly proceeded to besiege Carrickfergus. Bruce, resolving to try stratagem as well as force, bribed Feidhlim, the young king of Connaught, to join his party, who waited only for an opportunity to desert De Burgo. Nor was he obliged long to wait for one ; during his absence from his kingdom, it had been seized by his kinsman Roderic, with whom also Bruce had been secretly tampering. Feidhlim, with his native troops, and some aid lent by De Burgo, marched into Connaught, where he was defeated by his rival. But the triumph of Roderic was of short duration ; an army despatched from England, under the command of Sir John Bermingham, soon overcame his undisciplined troops, and Feidhlim was restored to his possessions. The first use which he made of his recovered power, was to desert from his benefactor, and declare for Bruce ; and his example was followed by O'Brien, De Lacy, and various chieftains of Meath and Ulster. Edward Bruce was

solemnly crowned at Dundalk, in the county of Louth; and Robert, king of Scotland, who landed with a large army to support him, though he was obliged by famine to return to Scotland, left a considerable reinforcement behind him, to uphold his brother's dignity. The town of Carrickfergus, after having undergone dreadful hardships for want of food, the inhabitants having been obliged to live on the hides of animals, and at last to feed on the dead bodies of the Scots whom they captured, surrendered to the young conqueror; when the English nobles, alarmed for their possessions, and forgetting their jealousies in the common danger, united for their defence. An army, under the command of Sir John Bermingham, and Walter de Burgo, earl of Ulster, was sent to chastise Feidhlim. The parties met at Atherdee, now Ardee, in the county of Louth, "where was fought," say the Irish chroniclers, "the bloodiest battle which had been known since the English invasion." Hundreds fell on both sides. Amongst them was the faithless king of Connaught; and with money procured by the spoils collected from the Irish, was built the town of Atherdee.

Bruce, little affected by the fall of his ally, continued his march to Dublin, his troops, impelled by hunger, committing the most horrid ravages. But he was not prepared for the resistance which he met with from the citizens, who imprisoned De Burgo, suspecting him of favouring the young Scot, and burned to the ground the cathedral of St. Patrick, fearing that it might fall into the hands of Bruce. Intimidated by this opposition, he deemed it expedient to turn aside, and passing through Kildare and Ossory, led his army back to Ulster. The English vainly endeavoured to stay his progress, when, to their great relief, they were cheered

by the intelligence of Sir Roger Mortimer's arrival as Deputy, at the head of a large body of troops. Having released De Burgo from his confinement, and quelled the Leinster insurgents, he would fain have followed Bruce, but the English forces were not able to accompany him through a country completely exhausted; he therefore dismissed his army, and applied himself to redress the abuses of government. The English interest seemed now prosperous; the pope excommunicated all the enemies of King Edward the second; and amongst them Robert and Edward Bruce, and those adherents who joined their standard. It therefore became a dangerous thing even to mention their names with approbation. Sir Gilbert Hamilton, an English nobleman, who had large estates in Ireland, happening to speak with respect of the merits of the Scottish Sovereign, Sir John de Spencer, imagining that his words reflected on King Edward, gave him a stroke with his sword, and threatened to summon him before his majesty. Convinced of his imprudence, Hamilton resolved to throw himself on the protection of Bruce; and being closely pursued, sought refuge in a wood, where he and his servants changed clothes with some wood-cutters. Perceiving the king's officers about to come up with them, they set to work, sawing through a tree, in which employment they imagined that Hamilton and his train would never be suspected of engaging. As the officers came nearer and nearer, however, the fugitives could not help casting many a nervous glance towards them; Sir Gilbert perceived this, and aware of the consequences, just as the leader of the party drew up, he gave a vigorous strike with his saw, exclaiming, with a glance at his attendants, which they easily interpreted, the word "THROUGH!" The stratagem was successful. The

horsemen passed by the supposed wood-cutter, who speedily made his way to Bruce, was presented by him with a large tract in Scotland, and adopted as his motto the word to which he owed his preservation. The motto and crest of an oak-tree, with a saw half through, are still carried by the Hamilton family.

O'Neill, chief of Tyrone, was so much incensed at the enemies of King Edward being denounced by the clergy, that he presented a memorial to Pope John XXII. setting forth, that the Irish were released from their allegiance to the kings of England, by their violation of the conditions on which Adrian had granted them the kingdom. This memorial was forwarded by the pope to King Edward, by whom, however, it appears to have been little regarded.

Edward Bruce's army in Ulster, meanwhile, was reduced to the most dreadful extremity by famine; the dead were dug out of the graves, to furnish a scanty sustenance for the living; and in this weakened state they were attacked by Sir John Bermingham, to whom the command of the army had been entrusted. The two parties met near Dundalk. On Bruce's side, was the advantage of numbers; on his opponent's, that of discipline. Previous to the engagement, the archbishop of Armagh, who attended to shrive the dying, went through the Scottish ranks, exhorting them to fight as under the eye of heaven, and pronouncing absolution on all who fell. After a short but desperate encounter, Sir John Mapas, an English knight, persuaded that the death of Bruce would ensure victory to the English, rushed devotedly forwards, attacked him with fury, and when, after the battle, the body of Bruce was discovered, that of Sir John Mapas lay stretched across it. The Scots were entirely routed; the corpse of the young adventurer

was decently interred, and a pillar in the burial ground of Faughard, two miles north of Dundalk, marks the grave of Edward Bruce.

The services of Bermingham were rewarded by the earldom of Louth, and the manor of Athenree, in the county of Galway ; “and he followed up this victory,” says Spencer, “so hotly, that he suffered not the remains of the Scot army to breathe or gather themselves together, till they came to the sea coast. All the way they fled, for rancour and despite they attacked, consumed, and wasted whatever they had left unspoiled ; so as that of all the towns, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not one standing. Thus was all that goodly country utterly wasted, and sure it is a most sweet and goodly land as any under heaven.”

The calamities of this war did not terminate with the attempt of Bruce. Severities, which were considered to be warranted, were exercised with impunity on the lately offending Irish ; but of all the oppressions to which they were then subjected, none was greater than the extortion of “coyne and livery.” The earliest method of providing for the maintenance of an army in Ireland, was that of exacting contributions from the people, a custom in ancient times known under the name of *bonnaught*. The want of funds to pay a sufficient military force, had some time since rendered it necessary for the English government to have recourse to this obnoxious expedient. But at the present period it was iniquitously adopted, by Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond, for the support of *his own retainers*. “Desmond,” writes Sir John Davis, “taketh what *scopes* he liketh best for his demesnes out of every country ; by this oppressive conduct he banished almost all the Eng-

lish from Munster, who were succeeded by his followers, a mixed rabble, mostly of the Irish race, infected with the worst part of Irish manners." Aware that he would be obliged, by the equitable laws of his country, to restore possessions thus acquired, Desmond, throwing off the English yoke, degenerated into an Irish chieftain, keeping a barbarous kind of state with his followers, who sank into the utmost rudeness, and "within lesse than the age of a manne, had no markes or differences left of that noble nation from whom they were descended." His example was followed by other lords; and the English Pale was guarded by troops, who harassed the poorer English to such a degree as to induce them to leave the country altogether, or to fly to the haunts of the Irish insurgents, with whom they intermarried, whose language and manners they learned, and whom they joined in resisting the common enemy, while their lands were resumed by the natives, as their original and lawful property.

Two successive prelates of Dublin laboured to diffuse, once more, the blessings of education in Ireland. Archbishop Lech had obtained permission from Clement V., who was elected to the pontificate in 1305, to establish an university in Dublin, "for the study of theology and legislation." Death prevented his carrying his praiseworthy design into execution, but it was followed up by his successor Bricknor, who, in 1320, proceeded to erect and model an academic body, in which degrees were conferred, and studies continued for thirty-eight years; but its benefits were not immediately felt, and during the reign of Edward the Second, no vestige could be found of that learning for which the island had once been celebrated.

In a country which had sunk into such deplorable ignorance, superstition, as might be expected, attained unlimited sway ; and neither sex nor rank was security against the persecution caused by the accusation of witchcraft. In the year 1325, lived, in the of Kilkenny, the Lady Alice Kettler, who was charged by the bishop of Ossory, with holding nightly conferences with a wicked spirit called Robin Artisson, to whom she sacrificed, in the highway, nine red cocks and nine peacocks' eyes ; and also with regularly sweeping the streets of Kilkenny, about twilight, turning all the filth towards her son's door, while she muttered to herself the following *mysterious* couplet:—

‘To the house of William my son,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny town.’

It would be incredible, but that the fact is well attested, that these accusations—instead of being ascribed to the malice of her enemies, or the effects of a crazed imagination—were considered by government of such consequence, that two dependents, who were accused of being her accomplices, were put to death ; and the lady, in whose closet was found a staff, on which she was stated to perform her midnight gambols, and a sacramental wafer, on which the devil's name was stamped, though saved for that time by being privately conveyed to France, was, on a subsequent accusation of the same nature, barbarously committed to the flames.

Heresy was another charge which was frequently brought forward at the same period. In the corrupt body of the clergy were found many who, too often from private motives, countenanced this accusation ;

and they who daily violated the holiest laws of humanity, by oppression and murder, were zealous to approve themselves true sons of the church, by executing vengeance on her heretical children.

During the reigns of Edward the First and Second, the English power in Ireland had considerably declined. The wars of Henry the Third had interfered with its further reduction; and even of the parts already conquered, a great portion had been withdrawn from the royal jurisdiction, by the large grants of land bestowed on the English lords, who were thus made powerful enough to renounce their allegiance. In 1327, the prospects of the country seemed in some measure to brighten, by the accession of Edward the Third to the English throne, as it was hoped that his well-known firmness and energy would reduce the refractory nobles to obedience. This was not, however, to be easily accomplished, and admonitions to lay down their arms were sent to them, in vain, by the young monarch. How slight a matter was sufficient to inflame their passions, was shown by the cause assigned at this period for a bitter feud between Desmond and a nobleman called De la Poer. The latter had scornfully called his adversary a *Rhymer*, an insult not to be overlooked by the haughty lord of Desmond. A war was about to ensue, when, happily, the influence of the prior of Kilmainham, who had lately succeeded to the office of chief governor, was sufficient to obtain a reconciliation. A splendid banquet was given on the occasion, in St. Patrick's Cathedral; "a most sinful thing to be done," says the chronicler, "in the holy season of lent."

In the year 1329, the unhappy Irish a third time petitioned to be admitted to the benefits of English subjects; and being again refused, their disappoint-

ment broke out into acts of increased violence. Under the command of O'Brien, who was made their leader, they ravaged the province of Munster, and then carried their arms into Leinster; where, after committing various outrages, they set fire to a church in which a number of English were assembled, and burned it to the ground, after having slain the priest at the altar, whilst he was in the act of administering the sacrament. By the exertions of Butler, lately created Earl of Ormond, peace was in some degree established in Wexford; but D'Arcy, who had been made deputy, finding himself unable to subdue the remainder of the kingdom, was obliged to solicit the assistance of Desmond, with whom he treated as with an Irish chieftain. That lord had lately recommenced, with renewed violence, his extortion of coyne and livery; so necessary, however, was he become to government, that he was created EARL of Desmond, and obtained confirmation of his royal liberties in Kerry. The Earl of Ormond procured a similar grant, and converted his demesne of Tipperary into a county *palatine*.

In these palatinates, which were increased to nine, viz., Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, Leix, Meath, Ulster, Desmond, and Ormond, their rulers, or *palatines*, exercised arbitrary control, creating their own barons, knights, and judges. "The king of England's writs ran herein only in the church landes, which were called '*the crosse*,' wherein the king made a sheriff." They took up two-thirds of the English colony, which was thus parcelled out to men jealous of each other, and still more unfriendly to the government of England. Possessed of almost absolute power, Desmond, De Burgo, Mandeville, and Sir William and Walter Bermingham, refused to attend two successive parliaments held in Dublin.

in 1331, by the deputy, Sir Anthony Lacy. Determined, however, to enforce the authority of his royal master, he boldly ordered them to be arrested, and positive evidence appearing of Sir William Bermingham having abetted the rebellious Irish, he sentenced him to be publicly executed.

Edward resorted, in 1332, to a mean expedient for obtaining pecuniary supplies from his parliament, pretending that he meditated a visit to Ireland, for the purpose of redressing grievances, and promoting further improvements in that kingdom; but hardly had the desired subsidy been granted, when the real object appeared for which it was destined, namely, the recovery of Scotland, which had been lost by the weakness of his father. The money which he considered sufficient for that purpose, being once in his hands, he declared that he could not leave the northern provinces defenceless whilst their neighbours were in arms; and as his presence was necessary there, that he must unwillingly defer to a future period the intended Irish expedition.

Treaty was the only measure which could be safely resorted to with the rebellious Irish settlers; the Deputy, therefore, obeying the royal order to adjust the differences as amicably as was possible, a treacherous peace was agreed to, which the insurgents had no intention of observing. The first act by which they infringed it was the assassination of the Earl of Ulster, whose countess, with her infant daughter, fled with the utmost precipitation to England, leaving the vast estates of De Burgo without any defender. By the British law, these should have reverted to the king, as guardian to the minor's land; but the case was far different. Those parts which lay in Ulster were seized on by the powerful sept of O'Neill, the former possessors of

the land, and being divided amongst them, received the names of the upper and lower *Clan-Hugh-Buy*, from their leader, Hugh Buy O'Neill, or "the yellow O'Neill;" whilst in Connaught, some younger branches of the earl's family parcelled out his territories between them, and being aware that the statutes of England would protect the right of the young heiress, they renounced the law, names, language, manners, and dress of their country, and adopting those of the Irish, styled themselves "MAC WILLIAM OUGHTER" and "MAC WILLIAM EIGHTER"—that is, the *farther* and the *nether* Mac William. Vigorous measures were resorted to by Darcy to punish the assassins of the Earl of Ulster, and for a length of time after the murder, a clause excluding its perpetrators from mercy, was included in all the royal pardons. The evils of the country, however, still increased. The settlers daily renounced their allegiance, and the Irish availed themselves of the weakened state of the colony to recover their former property; while, in a vain endeavour to check these evils, the English revenue was entirely exhausted.

This diminution of his funds was particularly inconvenient to Edward, who had formed the ambitious design of conquering France, of which country he claimed the sovereignty as nephew to the late king. He had hoped for pecuniary assistance from Ireland, and, being disappointed, he wrote to Darcy, desiring him to call in those debts to the crown which had formerly been forgiven, and ordaining that all who did not possess lands in England should be disabled from holding property in Ireland.

Darcy, alarmed by these impolitic measures, returned to England, and Sir John Morris was sent over in his place. The descendants of those whose blood

had bought the land, appealed warmly against the king's iniquitous design, and entreated that they should not be deprived of their property except by legal judgment. The rage of party spirit mounted to a dreadful height. To consult on means to allay it, Sir John Morris summoned a parliament in Dublin; his summons was treated with contempt; and, as if to mark their defiance more determinedly, a parliament was held by the insurgent lords at Kilkenny, where they drew up a memorial stating the grievances to which they had been subjected, namely—that their castles had been suffered to fall into the hands of the enemy—that the deputies had been bribed by the Irish, to allow them to retain those lands recovered by insurrection—that the colonists had been misrepresented to the throne by their governors, whose object had been the repairing of their shattered fortunes. The memorialists concluded by entreating that their lands should not be wrested from those who had not the good luck to possess property in England. Edward returned a gracious answer to the petition. To what extent the concessions made by him were observed, is not known; but certain it is, that a feud ensued between “the English by *birth*,” or those later settlers who had been born in England, and “the English by *blood*,” that is, the descendants of the first adventurers, a feud which lasted long after its original cause had been done away.

Edward, growing weary of perpetual complaints from Ireland, instead of investigating into and removing their cause, increased it by neglect, and turned his thoughts entirely to his French expedition. He, however, benefited the country by appointing Sir Ralph Ufford chief governor, a man respected for courage and integrity, and who, resolving to put an end to the feuds of the barons, issued a proclamation

declaring that "there should be but one war and one peace throughout the island;" and finding the Earls of Desmond and Kildare disposed to be refractory, he ordered them to be imprisoned. Desmond, who had been not very long before liberated, only on his giving hostages for his quiet behaviour, was so alarmed by Ufford's wholesome severity, that on his being again released, he fled from the kingdom, leaving his sureties to answer for his conduct. A premature death cut short Ufford's administration; nor did his successor, Sir John Morris, continue much longer in office, for on an insurrection breaking out in Ulster, he was recalled, and succeeded by Sir Roger Darcy, who, in 1346, gave place to Sir Walter Bermingham. Desmond, who had formed the bold resolution of throwing himself at the king's feet, and remonstrating against wrongs which he alleged that he had received from Ufford, made his application at a happy moment. Edward, on the point of embarking for France, was overjoyed at the thoughts of engaging a noble of such extensive connexions. He, therefore, received him graciously, assured him of a speedy restoration to his rights, and meantime taking him into his own pay, was attended by him with a gallant train to France. Encouraged by Desmond's success, Kildare followed his example, and so highly distinguished himself at the siege of Calais as to receive from the king's hand the honour of knighthood.

Whilst the Irish lords were engaged in these brilliant scenes abroad, Bermingham employed himself in taking measures for securing tranquillity at home. In the year 1340, he summoned a parliament at Kilkenny, by which, to relieve the country from the abuse of coyne and livery, it was resolved that a subsidy should be granted for the maintenance of the

Irish war. Two shillings were to be paid from every carrucate of land, and two shillings in the pound given by every subject whose fortune amounted to six pounds, a grant extending to ecclesiastical persons, and tenants of ecclesiastical lands. Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, jealous of what he considered an interference with the rights of the church, issued a prohibition against the payment of this tax, declaring that all beneficed clergy who submitted to it, should be deprived of their livings, that all lay tenants who paid it, should be excommunicated, and their children and descendants, to the third generation, be pronounced unfit for ecclesiastical employment. He excommunicated the king's commissioner in the county of Tipperary, for receiving this subsidy from the collectors, upon which the commissioner took proceedings against him. The prelate pleaded that the church was FREE, and that, therefore, all who infringed on her privileges deserved chastisement. He was, however, found guilty; but though he refused to appear in arrest of judgment, his cause was too popular for his offence to receive its due castigation.

By the removal of corrupt ministers, and the favour shown to the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, peace was in some degree restored to the English settlement, and the successive governors had breathing time to apply their thoughts to the correction of many existing abuses. One of the most vigilant and upright of these rulers was Sir Thomas Rokeby. By his own example he enforced moderation and self-denial; and it is recorded that when one of his followers, who lived in luxury which was extorted by oppression, reproached him for allowing himself to be served with wooden cups, he replied—"Yes, my fare is simply served up; but I had rather drink out of

wood, and pay gold and silver, than drink out of gold and silver, and make wooden payments."

Repeated insurrections of the Irish induced Edward to recall Rokeby, and substitute in his stead the Earl of Desmond, whose warlike disposition and extensive dependencies seemed to fit him to be governor; but he did not live long enough after his appointment, to afford an opportunity of judging of its success; and on his death, which took place in the year 1356, Rokeby was sent back as deputy, with orders to reclaim the degenerate English. A degree of equity was shown by him towards the natives, which was denied them by their own nobles; but the most important regulation which he made, was one regarding the powers of the Irish parliament. Heretofore, in case of erroneous proceedings in their courts, the complainants had been exposed to the expense of an appeal to England: but now, all such matters were to be referred to, and decided upon by the "councillors, prelates, and others of the land;" "before which," says Lord Coke, who wrote a celebrated work on jurisprudence, in 1634, "the conventions in Ireland were not so properly *parliaments* as assemblies of great men." To diminish the jealousy between the English by *birth* and those by *blood*, it was enacted that any individual who promoted dissension on that account, should be fined or imprisoned. This precaution could not, however, do away the hatred which existed between the English of the old and the new stock. The original settlers had formed alliances with the natives, which, by introducing a number of secret enemies into the colony, rendered it at last necessary to prohibit the "mere Irish" from holding any office of trust, ecclesiastical or civil.

To endeavour to regulate the complicated disorders of the kingdom, Edward resolved on sending over

Prince Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, who had married, in 1352, the Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, —only offspring of the marriage between William de Burgh, third Earl of Ulster, and Maud, daughter of Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, mentioned in Chapter I.,—who was thus the *sole heiress* of the De Burghs, Earls of Ulster—the elder branch of the De Burghs—and of *Roderic, the last of the Heremon kings*. But the Duke's right to the large estates of the De Burghs, which were now in the hands of powerful parties, probably caused a prejudice against him, which he was not slow to interpret. Surrounded by the faction of the English by birth, he was easily prejudiced against the rival party; and, misled by their suggestions, published a proclamation forbidding the old English, or those who had been born in Ireland, to approach his camp or court.

Having thus offended the most powerful party, the Duke of Clarence was left to rule the country without judicious advisers, and to combat an enemy whose mode of warfare was unknown to him. He met with successive defeats, and was obliged to sue for the assistance of those whose feelings he had so wantonly outraged. On their magnanimously joining his standard, he gained some considerable advantages over the rebels, and the country began to entertain hopes of a favourable administration, when he was recalled, and succeeded, in 1364, by Butler, Earl of Ormond. Previous to Lionel's departure, he granted to the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's an acre of land, with the right of presentation to the cathedral, on condition of their providing a yearly salary of two marks for a monk of the order of St. Augustine, who was to lecture on divinity in the university established by Archbishop Bricknor.

The Earl of Ormond again resigned to the Duke;

and he as suddenly left the administration to Sir Thomas Dale, an English knight of too little consequence to suppress the dissensions of the English; so that in 1367, the Duke of Clarence was again sent over to stem the torrent of corruption. His first measure was to summon a parliament; and the most respectable body which had yet borne that name in Ireland, was assembled on this occasion. The state of affairs was calmly and maturely considered by them; and the acts then passed, from the place where the parliament sat, were distinguished by the title of the *Statute of Kilkenny*.

In consequence of representations here made, that the settlers were rapidly degenerating into "mere Irish," they were prohibited from intermarrying with the natives, or adopting their names or attire. The use of the Brehon law was pronounced high treason: it was rendered penal to make war or peace without the governor's permission—to allow the Irish to graze the land—to hold religious houses—to entertain bards or news-tellers to pervert the public by romantic tales—to impose cess on English subjects against their will, or to suffer the royal liberties to be sanctuaries for malefactors.

It must be regretted that the attention of Clarence was exclusively confined to benefiting the subjects of the Pale, and that he did not induce his parliament to abolish the bad customs of those natives who had submitted to the English law, and introduce in their stead the salutary institutions by which their brethren were governed; thus giving them the advantages of peace and social life, as a glorious exchange for the rudeness of faction and barbarism. The presence of the son of a renowned monarch, married to a lady of high Irish birth, would have afforded a fair chance of effecting this; but pride

and self-interest led the English to consider Ireland irreclaimable; the desperate resistance of the oppressed natives was unjustly considered a mark of barbarism, and the opportunity thus lost, was not recovered for ages.

The situation of governor was held for short periods by the young Earl of Ormond, surnamed "the Poet," by Sir William Windsor, the Earl of Kildare, and Sir Robert Ashton, in whose time the dislike felt for the country rose to such a height, that Windsor, who was sent over a second time in 1374, was allowed to dictate the terms on which he accepted his office. By his recommendation, a new command was issued for the return of absentees, together with an annual appointment of £11,200 to defray the expense of government, a sum exceeding the whole Irish revenue, which is stated to have fallen short at this period of £10,000 annually.

But the sequel of Windsor's government did not correspond with the expectations formed from this beginning. Far from subduing the insurgents, he could find no better method of securing the English settlement, than that of retaining regularly in pay a number of Irish chieftains to oppose their countrymen, and thus a precarious peace was bought which was perpetually and faithlessly violated.

Under his successor, James, Earl of Ormond, the parliament of England, growing weary of the expense of supporting so troublesome a dependency, issued an order that the Irish should grant a subsidy sufficient not only for the exigencies of their own country, but the assistance of their sovereign in his foreign wars. The Irish parliament, pleading the poverty of their realm, refused to comply with the demand. The king issued writs of summons to the clergy, and several of the laity, to answer for their conduct; they re-

plied that they were in no degree bound to send representatives to England, but that *in consequence of the distress of the land* they condescended to do so. The assembly sat at Westminster, but the result of the controversy never transpired.

The colony gradually declined; the statute of Kilkenny was relaxed, and amongst the latest notices respecting Ireland in this reign, is a curious entry in the Rolls, 1361, stating that "Richard Dere and William Stapolyn came over to England, to inform the king how very badly Ireland was governed, the king ordering them £10 for their trouble." Such was the state of matters there, at the conclusion of a period which forms so glorious an epoch in the history of England.

CHAPTER X.

RICHARD II.—HENRY IV.—HENRY V.

1377 TO 1422.

No immediate effect was produced on Irish affairs by the accession of Richard the Second. In remote districts hostilities were carried on with little attention to promises or treaties. The Pale became thus reduced within narrower bounds, and its inhabitants were compelled to hold their lands in vassalage to the natives. Whilst the English parliament again objected to the expense of maintaining this troublesome dependency, the settlers justly complained of the desertion of the nobility and gentry, who flocked to England, leaving the residents unequal to the charge and labour necessary for the welfare of the public. Their continued remonstrances procured,

in 1379, a law, by which all who persisted in being absentees, were taxed to the amount of two-thirds of their income, with the exception of persons absent by royal permission, or engaged in the king's service, or students at the English universities, who were to pay one-third only. And further to relieve the public distress, in the same year Richard granted his subjects permission to work the Irish mines, on condition of their paying one-ninth of the profits into the royal treasury; he also allowed them to coin money, and to hold a free trade with Portugal. To give more weight to the administration, Edmund Mortimer, son to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, was, in 1380, made governor; and on his death, in the following year, his son Roger was appointed to the same dignity; but he, being a minor, his uncle, Thomas Mortimer, was made his guardian and deputy. He is said to have transported oaks from his estate in Monmouthshire, to build a bridge over the river Bann in the county of Antrim. A brilliancy was shed upon his administration by a victory, owing principally to the valour of the natives, gained at Kinsale, in the county of Cork, over the French and Spaniards, who had lately made frequent invasions of Ireland; but failing in his efforts to procure subsidies for the king, his nephew was recalled, and, in 1383, Philip de Courtney sent to fill his place.

The Dukes of York and Gloucester, uncles to the young king, had injudiciously attempted to exercise a control particularly disagreeable to so weak a mind as his. To escape from this, Richard had thrown himself into the arms of a favourite called De Vere, on whom he was never weary of heaping benefits. Being obliged to recall Courtney for gross speculation, he appointed De Vere to his vacant office; and that he might take possession of it with due dignity,

created him Marquis of Dublin, and finally Duke of Ireland, which country was to be held in liege homage of him and his heirs; "a grant," says Lord Coke, "which he had no more right to bestow, than that of the crown of England." Preparations on a grand scale were made for the departure of the "duke" to his new dominions; but the king, unwilling to lose his society, suddenly recalled him, and he was obliged to commit his power to deputies, through whom he acted as a sovereign.

That humility which alone can make a favourite popular amongst those above whom he is incidentally raised, belonged not to De Vere. His pride rendered him hateful to a large party of English peers, by whom he was accused as an enemy to the state; and Richard, the tool of the favourite and his rivals alternately, notified to his Irish ministers in 1388, that the Marquis of Dublin had forfeited his dignity, and that his power had lapsed into the king's hands; who was again the only sovereign of Ireland, and who chose Sir John Stanley to be his deputy.

The enemies of his royal master were attacked by Stanley with such success, that the great O'Neill, one of the most turbulent of them, consented to do homage to the crown, and gave hostages for his good faith. Sir John was removed, with the precipitancy which led the kings of England continually to deprive themselves of the services of useful governors, and was replaced, in 1392, by the third Earl of Ormond, who was employed chiefly in quelling insurrections in the south, and who, after a decided victory over the rebels at Kilkenny, was succeeded by Sir John Scroope. While, on the one hand, Richard was annoyed at the reluctance with which the English parliament furnished money for this incessant warfare, on the other, he was wearied by perpetual

statements of the distress of his Irish subjects. In this painful emergency, the Duke of Gloucester volunteered to undertake the difficult duties of deputy; and "all the Irishry," says Davis, "were ready to submit themselves before his coming, so much the very name of a great personage, specially a prince of the blood, could prevail with this people;" but just as he was ready to depart, he was stopped by the king, who announced his intention of visiting his kingdom of Ireland in person. His resolution seems to have been partly prompted by jealousy of Gloucester, and partly by a desire to raise his character for courage in the eyes of the princes of Germany, who, on his proposing himself as candidate for the imperial crown, had replied that they would "never choose as elector one who could neither keep what his ancestors had gained in France, nor reduce his Irish vassals to obedience." In 1394, he landed at Waterford, with 4000 men-at-arms, and 3000 archers, a force quite sufficient to complete the conquest of the country, and lay the foundation of prosperity and peace, by extending the protection of the English law to the whole native population; but such a course was unluckily not adopted by Richard, who was satisfied with a decent show of loyalty from those who felt their inability to resist his army. The submission of O'Neill and the northern chieftains was received in Drogheda by the king, to whom they swore that they would evacuate the province; that of the Leinster insurgents at Carlow, by Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. There, "in an humble and solemn manner, they did their homage, and made the oaths of fidelity to the earl marshal, laying aside their girdles, their skeans, and their caps, and falling downe at his feete upon their knees, which when they had performed, the earl gave unto each of them the kiss of peace."

Instead of adopting at once such measures as would have promoted the permanent welfare of Ireland, Richard, whose vanity was satisfied with this empty homage, wasted his time entertaining O'Neill, O'Connor, O'Brien, and Mac Murchad, [Cavanagh,] four of his new vassals on whom he resolved to confer knighthood. But this ceremony, which in their eyes gave no accession of rank, was deemed by them no increase of honour: they explained that the son of every Irish king was made a knight, at the age of seven years, and they would not submit a second time to that ceremony. Their remonstrance was in vain; and that they might be induced to change their opinion, and also in some measure educated for the honour thus forced upon them, Richard entrusted them to the care of one Henry de Castide, who understood their language, having been for some time a prisoner in their country, where he was treated in a manner so creditable to his captors, that the account of the transaction shall be given in his own words:—"It chanced," in a skirmish with the natives, "that my horse took fright, and ran away, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy: in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with hand or knife; he seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with woods, pallisades, and stagnant water. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brian Costerel, a very handsome man; he kept me seven years, and then gave me his daughter in marriage." Amongst repeated accounts of anarchy and bloodshed, distressing to the historian to relate, it is refreshing to dwell upon an incident, which is one amongst many, show-

ing of what generosity the Irish nation was capable, had its kindlier feelings been improved by a more judicious treatment from its conquerors.

It was with difficulty that Castide could bring his noble guests to forego their primitive customs of dining at the same table with their minstrels and servants, or to exchange for silken robes the simple mantle of their country. At length, by the added persuasions of Ormond, who was universally respected, they agreed to observe the required forms, and *submit* to the honour of English knighthood. Having kept watch the previous night in the cathedral of St. Patrick, they underwent there the unwelcome ceremony on Lady-day, after which they were entertained at a rich banquet, where the four Irish princes, decked in their robes of state, sat at the table of the king of England.

Richard, yearning for the admiration of his English subjects, wrote to his uncle, the Duke of York, a brilliant account of his exploits, under pretext of asking advice regarding his conduct towards the Irish, whom he described as consisting of three distinct classes—*English subjects*; *Irish enemies*, who had become vassals; and *rebels*, of both the English and Irish race. York, who perceived his ill-concealed vanity, coldly answered, by recommending a strict exactness in levying the fines from those to whom royal mercy was extended; adding, that perhaps Richard was right to be merciful, though he confessed that he would hardly have been so. The tribute of applause which his uncle withheld, was paid him in a little time, in an adulatory address from England, containing an earnest request that he would speedily return to check the progress of the *Lollards*, or the followers of the reformer Wickliffe, who had lately begun to protest against the errors of popery.

The king, who was a zealous supporter of the established religion, complied with their entreaty; and having appointed his young kinsman, Roger Mortimer, governor, after a residence of nine months, he quitted Ireland, where, though his intentions had been kind, his presence had produced no real advantage; he had applied no effectual remedy to check its disorders, but “left its affairs precisely in their former state, under a deceitful appearance of tranquillity.”

On the young deputy requiring that the chieftains of Leinster should fulfil their engagements, by evacuating that province, they unscrupulously refused compliance: he, endeavouring to enforce, it, followed the warlike septs of the O’Byrnes and O’Tooles into the county of Wicklow, where his wily adversaries led him on, by permitting him to gain some trifling advantages; but having inveigled him into the fastnesses of their native mountains, they engaged him in a desperate encounter, where they entirely defeated the English army, and slew the governor, their general.

Dazzled by ideas of imaginary glory, Richard longed to return to Ireland. The death of the vicegerent furnished a sufficient pretext, and having with difficulty extorted money for the expedition from parliament, desired his nephew, the Duke of Aumerle, or Albemarle, to follow with reinforcements, and appointing the Duke of York regent in England, he prepared for immediate departure. After assisting at a solemn mass at Windsor, he took wine and spices at the door of the church, with his young queen, who was but eleven years of age, and lifting her up in his arms, kissed her several times, saying “Adieu, madam! adieu, till we meet again”—a vain hope! which was destined never to be realised

Trumpets, and the sound of minstrels, were heard day and night, says one who accompanied the expedition. Richard arrived safely at Waterford, where he was greeted with a cordial welcome, and wasted twenty days in receiving congratulations, and waiting for the expected arrival of Albemarle. At length he marched against Art Mac Murchad [Cavanagh], who beguiled him, as the Wicklow chieftains had beguiled Mortimer, into their mountain fastnesses. Relying on the entrenchments furnished by nature, and preferring short irregular skirmishes to a regular battle, Mac Murchad seldom afforded the English an opportunity of judging of the number of his followers. All that remained for Richard, was to burn the adjacent villages, and endeavour to cut passages through the entangled woods. "Ireland," says Froissart,* "is one of the cruellest countries in the worlde to make warre on, and bring into subjection—closed strongly and wydely with high forestes, and great waters, and places uninhabitable: the men draw to the woodes, and dwell in small caves and cotages, under trees, and among bushes and hedges, like wylde savage beastes: a man at arms, being never so well horsed, and ron as faste as he can, the Irishman will ryn afote as faste as he, and overtake him—yea, and leap up behynde him, and draw him from his horse." This description conveys some idea of the difficulties encountered by the army of Richard, which were still further increased by scarcity of provisions; for it had not occurred to the inconsiderate king, that a country wasted by previous warfare would be little likely to afford supplies sufficient for his army. Under all these disadvantages, however, his officers behaved bravely, as a reward for which

* Johnes's translation.

the king created many of them knights. Amongst others, was young Henry of Monmouth, afterwards Henry the Fifth, who conducted himself with peculiar gallantry, and in knighting whom, the king used these remarkable words, prophetic, as it would seem, of the fortune of the young cavalier:—"My fair cousin, be valiant and preux, *for you will have valiant blood to conquer.*"

Mac Murchad, aware of the difficult situation of Richard, resolved to avail himself of it, to make an advantageous treaty. The Duke of Gloucester was appointed to hold a conference with him, and each repaired to the place of meeting, attended by his guards. "From a mountain between two woods," says an eye-witness, "we saw Mac Murchad advance, accompanied by a multitude of the Irish, and mounted on a horse, without a saddle, which cost, as was reported, four hundred cows; the horse was fair, and in his descent to us ran as swift as any stag that I have ever seen. In his right hand, Mac Murchad bore a spear, which, when near the spot where he was to meet the duke, he cast from him, with much dexterity. The crowd that followed him then remained behind, while he advanced to meet the duke, near a mountain brook; he was tall of stature, and well composed—strong and active—his countenance fierce and cruel."

The Irish prince being reminded of his breach of the engagements to which he had so solemnly sworn, for some time proudly defended his conduct. At length he consented to submit to the king of England, provided that he were not to be bound by any special condition; but that proviso so severely wounded the pride of Richard, that he passionately vowed never to leave Ireland, "till he had possessed himself of the rebel, dead or alive." He soon reached

Dublin, where he was joined with reinforcements by Aumerle, who made some excuses for a delay which had been really owing to his own disaffection. Richard remained here six weeks, prevented by contrary winds from holding communication with England; and when at length a vessel arrived, it conveyed the startling intelligence of the usurpation of his throne, by Henry of Bolingbroke. The unhappy king learned with dismay the progress of his rival, whose son Henry, from an impulse of petty revenge, he imprisoned in the castle of Trim. Aumerle treacherously advised his remaining in Ireland, till all his army could be transported together. Salisbury was sent before, to raise the Welsh, who readily flocked to the royal standard: but disappointed at Richard's infatuated delay, dispersed, and when he reached Wales, the monarch found himself abandoned by his friends, and deserted by his army. Throwing himself into Conway Castle, he was betrayed into the hands of his rival, solemnly deposed, and imprisoned in Pontefract Castle, where he was afterwards barbarously starved to death.

Henry of Bolingbroke was, on the 13th of October, 1399, crowned at Westminster, by the title of Henry the Fourth; and avowing a warm interest in his Irish dominions, he prevailed on parliament to grant a subsidy for its relief, on which he also revived the tax on absentees, and in 1402, sent over his second son, Thomas of Lancaster, as governor.

Successful inroads had recently been made on the coasts of Ulster by the Scots, under the command of a chieftain called "Donald of the Isles." War was successfully carried to their own shores, by the Duke of Lancaster. The citizens of Dublin and Drogheda collected their several troops, and even carried the marauding war to the coasts of Scotland, where they

severely revenged the incursions of the enemy. The rebellious tribes of Leinster were also chastised; when the young deputy returned for a time to England, having appointed Lord Scroope to rule during his absence. Considerable advantages were obtained over the insurgents by Lord Scroope; but Mac Murcadh bade defiance to every attempt to seduce him, and lay like a canker in the heart of the Leinster territory. The statute of Kilkenny was again revived, but openly violated by the English nobles; and on Lancaster's return to his government, finding that the Earl of Kildare had incurred the displeasure of Scroope, by some act forfeiting his allegiance, without loss of time he marched against, imprisoned, and obliged him to purchase his liberty, by a fine of three thousand marks. Previous to the duke's leaving England, he had stipulated that men and money should be provided for his use, that the absentee act should be strictly enforced, and to strengthen the English plantation still more, that one or two families should be sent over at the king's expense from every parish in England. Notwithstanding those stipulations, however, during his administration "the seeds of reformation took no root, from domestic discord." Finding himself of little use, and being severely wounded while contending at Kilmainham with the Leinster insurgents, he returned to England, committing the public defence to his deputy, Butler, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem. The Pale, now in effect left to its own resources for protection from the encroachments of the common enemy, found it necessary to have recourse to *coyne and livery*; and though the misery suffered under this oppression could hardly be endured, government had no longer the power, even if it had the will, to enforce the act by which it was made treasonable. The

statute of Kilkenny had become unfit for the exigencies of the times : by it the subjects were prohibited from making peace or war without the consent of government, a prohibition which the frequent incursions of the Irish rendered it impossible to observe ; by it, also, the subjects were forbidden to trade with the natives, but now their most flourishing towns were surrounded so entirely by them, that commerce could be held with no other. To such inferiority were the English sunk beneath the natives of that country which their ancestors had conquered, that they were compelled to stoop to a shameful concession to obtain a precarious peace. The Borderers were obliged, by an annual stipend, called the "BLACK RENT," to *purchase* the protection of those powerful Irish chieftains, whose pride was gratified by what they deemed a recognition of their ancient sovereignty.

The prospects of Ireland seemed to grow yet darker on the accession of Henry V., 1413, whose thoughts were fixed upon the conquest of France. Sir John Stanley, who had before governed the nation without success, was again sent over, but soon recalled, in consequence of his rapacity, and was succeeded by an archbishop named Cranley, or Crawley, who, though a man of piety and knowledge, was not suited to the important post which he was chosen to fill. The realm seemed ready to sink under the miseries of war and faction, when, in 1414, Sir John Talbot, Lord Furnival, assumed the reins of government ; unattended by an army, he had recourse to the usual oppressive means of raising one, by which "the English suffered more damage than they gained peace or security." His boldness, however, struck terror into the refractory chieftains, and even Mac Murchad was forced to renew his homage, and

gave his son as a hostage for his obedience. The situation of the settlers had become deplorable, being at once hated by the Irish as foreign intruders, and despised by their own countrymen as a degenerate race. The conduct of hordes of worthless vagrants who went over from Ireland, tended to confirm the prejudice which the English felt against that country, so that two years after the accession of Henry the Fifth, a law was enacted, prohibiting Irish vagrants from entering England; and that statute was soon pushed to such an absurd extent, as to be stretched to the exclusion of the whole Irish race. Justly incensed at this iniquitous proceeding, the Irish parliament resolved to send a statement of their grievances to the foot of the throne; but whether it were that the memorial was considered a party business, or that the ministers sent over from England dreaded an investigation of their conduct, Merbury, the chancellor, refused to affix the great seal, and it could not be transmitted.

Though Lord Furnival kept the English province so free from the invasion of the common enemy, as to enable Butler, the warlike Prior of Kilmainham, to lead fifteen hundred men to the king's assistance in France, his government became so oppressive, that when, in 1417, he was superseded by the Earl of Ormond, he departed with the execrations alike of the clergy and laity.

The appointment of Ormond to be deputy, gave general satisfaction, and by him the desired petition was forwarded to the English parliament. It is still extant, and amongst other grievances, contains a pathetic representation of the distress of his majesty's subjects in Ireland, harassed alike by the common enemy and the king's ministers; the unreasonable exclusion of their students from the inns of court is

fully stated ; and the petitioners pray that their commerce may be defended, their money regulated, their churches supplied with faithful pastors, and above all things, that trusty commissioners may be appointed to inspect the conduct of the king's officer's in Ireland, declaring that such a scene of iniquity would thereby be discovered, as would be abhorrent to the equity of the throne. There is reason to suppose that the complaints of the Irish subjects were not entirely unnoticed, for the Chancellor Merbury was removed from his office, and Fitz-Thomas, prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, substituted in his place. Ormond continued to defend the Pale successfully from foreign incursion ; but the very security in which it was placed seemed but to give time for the indulgence of mutual jealousy between the English of blood and those of birth—a jealousy which even spread amongst the clergy, by whom it should have been moderated or restrained. The Archbishop of Cashel was accused by the English bishop of Kilmore of counterfeiting the great seal, and also of presenting a lady, to whom he was attached, with a ring taken from the image of the Virgin. The accuser, however, inadvertantly exposed the real source of his animosity, by adding that “ he was an enemy to the English nation, and had never conferred a benefice upon an Englishman.”

Had the natives been united, they might easily have destroyed the Pale, but they were occupied in petty feuds and local inroads ; besides, their aversion to the English was no longer sufficient to counterbalance the animosity felt towards septs of their own nation. On the contrary, they united in cordial affection with those who had revolted to or intermarried with them. This is but fair to state, as the English annalist too often assert that the reigning passion

amongst the whole body of the Irish for many ages, was an inveterate hatred against England, whilst their perfidious violation of treaties is displayed with unqualified bitterness. But it must be remembered that such charges are made on both sides, and those very insurrections and local quarrels with the writers of England represent as the excess of an irreclaimable race of barbarians, are ascribed by the Irish annalists to the insincerity, injustice, and oppression of their neighbours—to the warmth of just resentment, or the efforts of self-defence; it would be unreasonable partiality to suppose that such representations were always groundless.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY VI.—EDWARD IV.—EDWARD V.—RICHARD III.

1422 TO 1485.

ON the accession of the infant king, Henry VI., the regency judged it advisable to take the state of Ireland into consideration, and appointed Edmund, Earl of March, governor, as it was hoped that his connexion with the royal blood would give him sufficient power to quell all civil dissensions. Impressed, however, with a deep prejudice against a country of which such unfavourable representations were made, he declined discharging his office in person, and nominated the bishop of Meath his deputy. This was highly displeasing to the English lords. Their pride revolted against the idea of being ruled by one whose rank was inferior to theirs, and who, being born in England, was known to be unfavourably prepossessed towards those of the “English blood.” Perceiving that his commission

was sealed by the Earl of March only, they objected against his appointment as illegal, and the archbishop of Dublin refused to administer to him the necessary oaths. On consideration of the evils which might arise from a suspension of government, the council at last consented to receive him. But notwithstanding his excellent private character, various parties were formed against him. He was accused of stealing a chalice from one of the churches; and although he was honourably acquitted, he continued to be so unpopular, that, after a short administration, he was removed, and in 1423 the Earl of Ormond was appointed deputy in his place. The vicinity of the northern parts of Ulster to Scotland; tempted continual hordes of Scottish rovers to pour into that province, and a more considerable invasion than usual, determined the Earl of March to repair to Ireland, to protect his own territories; but he died suddenly at Trim, and was succeeded by John Talbot, Earl of Furnival.

A curious instance of the poverty or economy of these times is upon record. The hall and windows of Dublin Castle having become ruinous, it was ordered "that a certain silver seal cancelled, being in the treasury, it should be broken and sold, and the money laid out on the said hall and windows." By the activity of Lord Furnival, the deputy, and Ormond his successor, the native Irish were obliged to renounce all claim to the *black rent*, and O'Neill was compelled to resign to the Duke of York, as heir to De Burgo, all the lands belonging to the earldom of Ulster. Notwithstanding this promise of better things, in four years afterwards, a parliament held in Dublin represented to the king that all the Irish enemies and English nobles "in the lande have been confedered and sworne to Godyz, and have laboured

evermore, and yet do labor, to make a final conquest of the lande, and to put the liege pepull to be tributarie unto theme." It is further stated, that they had wrested from the Pale, Limerick, Tipperary, and the greater part of Leinster.

To preserve the small remainder of the possessions of the English in Ireland, was the chief object of Ormond's immediate successors, and hence proceeded the numerous statutes against marrying, fostering, or trafficking with the Irish. The old inhabitants of the Pale were at the same time, equally solicitous to assert their rights as Englishmen, and to express their discontents at the grievances they sustained. In various petitions to the throne, therefore, they complained bitterly of the ignorance and inefficiency of those who were appointed to govern them, remonstrated against odious distinctions being made between them and the new settlers, and stated that the descendants of the original adventurers were deprived of the rights of subjects. The discontent produced by a government such as this, gradually separated the small territory still retained by England into discordant factions, and these divisions were increased by the injudicious partiality shown to Ormond—a partiality creating a jealousy towards that nobleman in the families of Kildare and Desmond, which only waited for an opportunity to show itself.

James, the seventh earl of Desmond, had acquired his possessions in the following irregular and unjustifiable manner. His nephew, Thomas, the youthful earl, being benighted in a hunting excursion in Kerry, was obliged to take shelter in the house of one of his dependents named M'Cormac: he was entertained with that hospitality for which the Irish ever have been remarkable; but the visit was fatal to the young lord. Whilst the beautiful daughter of his host

tended her father's noble guest, her charms made a deep impression on his heart, and, after a short wooing, he ordered his retainers to prepare a joyous welcome for his countess. These commands, however, they disobeyed, as the daughter of a vassal, however lovely, was considered as a partner unfit for the Earl of Desmond. His uncle gladly perceived their disgust, and, aware that if his nephew were dispossessed the earldom would revert to him, he yielded to the impulse of ambition, and so greatly widened the breach which he should have endeavoured to heal, that Thomas was obliged to surrender to him his castles and his dignity. Broken-hearted, the young lord retired with his beautiful partner to Rouen, where he died in 1420, and was buried in a convent at Paris, the king of France attending his funeral.

Earl James, to secure and increase a power thus unjustly acquired, contrived to possess himself of that large district called the kingdom of Cork, where he lived in rude magnificence; and during the second administration of Ormond, he so ingratiated himself with him, as to obtain several important privileges. He was allowed to purchase what lands he pleased; was made, in 1443, Governor of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry; and received permission to attend parliament by proxy, and *never to be obliged to enter a walled town*. By these concessions, more especially the two last, his person was secured from the danger of an arrest; and, thus protected, he substantially enjoyed that local sovereignty which his ancestors had only affected. But the Governor was soon punished for his blame-worthy partiality. Desmond, ungratefully forgetting his obligations, led an army against him, and obtained such advantages as forced him to conclude a peace for one year. This afforded the rebel time to tamper with Lord Ormond's

enemies, and to undermine him in the favour of his sovereign, who at length giving credit to Desmond's representations, required the deputy to explain them away. Ormond, viewing with contempt the malice of the insidious Desmond, summoned the nobility and gentry of the Pale to attend him at Drogheda, where he informed them, that, after three years' faithful service, he was called on to give an account of his conduct to the king. "The English agents," said he, "who bring the royal orders, are here before you; and in their presence, I boldly appeal to my most inveterate enemy, if such there be in the assembly, to stand forth, and point out any single instance in which the subject hath suffered by my injustice, or the state by my neglect." Except in the case of Desmond, his behaviour had been irreproachable, and his misconduct in that respect seemed to be overlooked in the indignation against the treacherous favourite. The general voice was raised in his acquittal; and the king, on an address from his Irish people, was induced to suspend the order for his recall. His adversaries, however, soon after renewed their machinations with success. His age and inability to take the field were urged against him; it was stated that he had permitted the castles of the Pale to fall into the enemy's hands; and, above all, that he had knighted *Irishmen, grooms, and pages*. Desmond's malice was gratified; and, in 1445, the aged governor was superseded by Talbot, Lord Furnival, recently created Earl of Waterford.

Finding that, in defiance of solemn agreements, the Irish frequently rose in various quarters, and that the English continued their local broils in contempt of lawful authority, Lord Waterford was obliged to appeal to government for a military reinforcement. They granted him seven hundred chosen men, by

which force the rebels were soon intimidated, and the chieftains of Ossory, Meath, and Thomond reduced. A parliament was, in 1447, assembled at Trim, where statutes were enacted against the clipping of coin, and the passing of a counterfeit piece called "O'Riellies;" knights were forbidden to use gold or silver trappings, horse furniture, or gilt harness; it was once more made penal to adopt the Irish mode of wearing the hair and beard; and it was declared, that any man who did not keep his upper lip shaved, might be treated as "an Irish enemy." The Earl of Waterford resigned himself wholly to the party which had procured Ormond's disgrace. Backed by his brother, Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, and by the Prior of Kilmainham, he even went so far as to accuse that nobleman of treason; but Henry, either from policy or indulgence, disregarded the accusation, and the steady countenance shown by him on this occasion to Ormond, is supposed to have laid the foundation of the attachment of the Butlers to the house of Lancaster.

Notwithstanding the success of that house, so many adherents to the family of York still remained, that Henry thought it advisable to remove Richard, Duke of York, from England. The exaggerated accounts of Ireland which reached the court, afforded a pretext for sending over a prince of the royal blood to rule that turbulent country; and the duke appointed to be governor, reluctantly gave up the prospect of reaping laurels in France, for the confined sphere of Irish warfare. Resolving to make his appointment tend towards the object at which he aimed, which was nothing less than the crown of England, he determined, "by all popular courses, to steal away the hearts of the people;" and having stipulated that he should be governor for ten years, with the privilege of naming a Deputy at pleasure, he sailed for Ireland,

in 1449, with a splendid train and a large body of forces. Heir to the earldom of Ulster, his vassals crowded to pay him homage, and were received with the dignity of a prince, and the cordiality of a kinsman; and to bind the great earls of Ormond and of Desmond to him by the tie of *fosterage*, he requested that they would become sponsors to his infant son, the Duke of Clarence, who was born in Dublin Castle.

Shortly after his arrival, he convened a parliament in Dublin, where new enactments were made for abolishing *coyne* and *coshering*; restraining the number of followers belonging to the nobles; and providing for the defence of the Pale, by decreeing that "everye twenty pound lande should be charged with the furnishing and maintenance of one archer on horsebacke." The party who secretly favoured the Duke of York increased in England; and government, dreading a sudden insurrection, sent imperative orders to the Sheriffs of Cheshire, Wales, and Shropshire, to oppose his landing. Alleging that this was an imputation on his loyalty, which it was necessary that he should go to London to justify, he embarked in 1451, having to the surprise of all parties, named as his deputy, Ormond, a noted partizan of the house of Lancaster. That nobleman, created Earl of Wiltshire, was soon afterwards made by the king lord lieutenant of Ireland. Finding his presence required at the English court, he appointed the archbishop of Armagh his deputy; but the earl was quickly remanded to Ireland, where, after a few inconsiderable excursions to correct the disorders of the natives, he died in 1452, and the government devolved on Sir Edward Eustace, a warlike knight, and fit for an office which required activity and vigour.

One of those forays too frequent amongst the Irish, was made into Kildare by O'Connor, a chieftain of

Ophally, who was defeated and driven away by Fitzgerald. Overpowered by numbers, flight seemed to offer the only chance of safety which remained for the chieftan, and attended by his son, he urged his horse to its utmost speed; worn out, however, by the fatigues of the day, the veteran fell from his charger, his son stopped and assisted him to mount, when the wearied horse in its turn sunk under the rider. Again the youth stopped, and instantly dismounting, entreated his father to take his horse. The father refused, and a generous contest ensued, whether the father or the son should be captured. The authority of the father prevailed; the youth feared to disobey, and reluctantly quitted the chieftan, who was quickly made a prisoner. On further inquiry, however, it being ascertained that he had taken arms merely for prey, and not against government, he was pardoned, and set at liberty.

Meantime, the Duke of York, who had raised an army in Wales, headed an insurrection against the king; and, in a battle gained at St. Alban's, on the 23d of May, 1455, Richard having captured Henry VI., became king of both kingdoms. To strengthen his power in Ireland, he appointed the Earl of Kildare his deputy, who, for four years, ruled the country, when new revolutions dismissed him from his government. A temporary reconciliation between the houses of York and Lancaster was broken through; the parties again took arms; and Richard, defeated at Blore Heath, in Staffordshire, sought refuge in Ireland, where he found the value of that affection which he had taken such pains to conciliate. A parliament was immediately assembled, in which several acts were passed for the greater security of the person, and increase of his power: it was made treason to imagine his death; Ireland was declared

to be a country incorporated within itself, capable of framing its own laws, to which alone any subject was amenable—and for the protection of his followers, Richard had the address to procure a statute, declaring that it had ever been customary in that land to receive and entertain strangers with due hospitality, and that it should be high treason, under pretence of *any writs*, to disturb persons so entertained. Thus protected, the Duke had little to fear; and had he remained in Ireland, he would probably have been safe; but a victory having been gained by his son over the Lancasterians, he emerged from his retirement, appeared in London at the head of a gallant army, and was openly declared king of England. Margaret of Anjou, the intrepid queen, prepared to oppose him, and the party which she raised was too powerful for him to overcome. At Wakefield Green, in Yorkshire, with 5,000 followers, he encountered, on the 31st of December, 1459, a body of 20,000 men; animated by affection for their leader, his soldiers long resisted the overwhelming force of numbers; but in the heat of the battle Richard fell, and a complete victory was won by Margaret of Anjou.

When the sad tidings of the death of their favourite Richard reached Ireland, the council sorrowfully proceeded to elect a new lord lieutenant, and in their choice of Thomas, Earl of Kildare, gave a proof of their continued attachment to the house of York. He was confirmed in this office by the son of the late Duke of York, who, on Henry's deposition, succeeded to the throne, and was crowned at Westminster, by the title of Edward IV., on the 29th of June, 1461. Edward, to mark his approbation of their attachment to his family, created Sir Rowland Fitz-Eustace, Baron Portlester; Sir Robert Barnwell, Baron of Trimblestone; and Desmond was appointed

to act as deputy to the young Duke of Clarence, who was created lord lieutenant of Ireland. Philippa, only child of the marriage ~~between the~~ great heiress of the De Burghs and last Heremon kings, as mentioned at p. 36, was married to Edward Mortimer, third Earl of March, Viceroy of Ireland in 1380, and the Lady Ann Mortimer, their granddaughter by this marriage, married Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, father of Richard, Duke of York; and thus, in the person of Edward IV., son and heir of Richard—the *heir of the De Burghs and of the last Heremon king of Ireland simultaneously, ascended the throne of England and was crowned at Westminster on the Lia Fail!*

Beloved by the Irish nation, and most of the delinquent settlers, Desmond appeared the leader of a powerful sept; but intoxicated with success, he gave offence to his enemies, who jealously watched for opportunities against him. Having marched to the assistance of some of the settlers, who had been invaded by an Irish clan, named O'Melachlin, he was taken prisoner; but, far from suffering indignity, was treated by his captors with the respect paid by the Irish to their chieftains; and when he entreated to be set at liberty, the young O'Connor, who had behaved with so much filial affection—repaying the indulgence shown to himself—conveyed him to a place of security, and dismissed him, along with his followers.

Desmond, returning to Dublin, found that the Irish, taking advantage of his absence, had ravaged Meath; while in Munster, O'Brien, crossing the Shannon with a formidable band, had obliged the governor to consent to a treaty, by which O'Brien was left in possession of most of his conquests. Mortified by these concessions, the English settlers sent William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, to London, to represent

the earl's partiality for the Irish, his oppression of the inhabitants of the Pale, and his absurd affectation of sovereignty. Whilst the bishop was endeavouring to effect his disgrace, Desmond prevailed on a parliament then sitting at Wexford, to draw up an address to the throne in his favour, and with this he hastened to England, where on explaining his conduct, his accuser was dismissed, and the earl returned triumphant. In a parliament, held by him at Trim, in 1465, bills were passed for the refinement of manners in the Pale.

But the ruin of Desmond was only postponed. The young king had married the beautiful Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, a knight of low birth; and Desmond, remonstrating with his sovereign against debasing the royal blood of England by such an alliance, so far forgot himself as to call Elizabeth a *tailor's daughter*. This contemptuous epithet, repeated by Edward to the queen, was never forgotten by her; and she is said to have urged the king to accelerate his ruin, by appointing, in 1467, Tpitoft, Earl of Worcester, the enemy of the house of Desmond, governor of Ireland. In a parliament first convened by him in Dublin in 1467, an act was passed which is deserving of notice, as it shows that all parties were ignorant of Edward's true hereditary right, and expressly and formally defined the right by which the kings of England were considered to have dominion in Ireland as follows: "*the Holy Father, Adrian IV., Pope of Rome, who was possessed of the seigniorie of Ireland in right of his church, did, for a certain rent, alienate the same to the king of England and his heirs for ever.*" The parliament where this act was framed, adjourned to Drogheda, where bills were passed for attainting the Earls of Kildare and Desmond for treason. Kildare was imprisoned, but soon afterwards released; Desmond, relying either on his power or his innocence, hastened to Drogheda to the governor, to justify his

conduct, when, to the astonishment of his party, he was instantly brought to the scaffold. His enemies, however, enjoyed a short lived triumph. Exasperated by the execution of his kinsman, Kildare hurried to England, where he represented so strongly the injuries done to his family, and pleaded so vehemently their services, that he was favourably received; the sentence of attainder was reversed by the parliament which had pronounced it; and, to complete his triumph, he was made deputy in Tiptoft's place in 1470, who soon afterwards suffered in England the punishment which he had executed upon Desmond.

Thus successful against his rivals, the Earl of Kildare turned his attention towards the defence of the Pale; and various suggestions offered on that subject were, in 1472, moulded into a regular plan, when a "Fraternity of Arms" was constituted, called the "Brotherhood of St. George." It consisted of thirteen persons of the highest rank in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth. To the captain, who was to be elected annually on St. George's day, was assigned a guard of an hundred and twenty archers on horseback, and forty other horsemen, attended by forty pages. These two hundred men constituted the whole of the standing army in Ireland.

Whilst Kildare actively discharged his duty as governor, his downfall was industriously plotted by his rivals. To punish his devotion to the house of Lancaster, the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond had been attainted and executed on the accession of Edward the Fourth; since which period his house had remained in disgrace, until the handsome person and engaging manners of Sir John Butler, his brother, conciliated the favour of his sovereign. "He is the

goodliest knight and finest gentleman in Christendom," observed Edward; "and if good-breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world, they might be found in Sir John Butler." His followers lost no time in improving these favourable impressions, and their machinations against the Earl of Kildare being renewed with success, he was removed from his government, to which Sherwood, bishop of Meath, was appointed; by him the attainder of Ormond was reversed, and the quarrels between the rival houses raged more furiously than ever, till they were for a time put an end to by the death of Kildare and the pilgrimage of Ormond to Palestine.

After a distracted government of two years, the administration of justice in Ireland reverted, in 1478, to the family of Kildare, in the person of the young Earl James; but Edward, inferring from incessant complaint, that a native lord could not rule there with impartiality, sent over, in the same year, Lord Grey as deputy to the Duke of Clarence, who had, ever since the restoration of Henry the Sixth, been the nominal Lord Lieutenant. The Irish, considering the birth of Lord Grey not sufficiently noble for his office, on some pretended informality in his commission, refused to receive him. The king was, however, determined on the point; and on the death of the unhappy Duke of Clarence, named Lord Grey deputy to that prince's infant son. The nation persisted in its opposition, and Grey, unwilling to be longer embroiled, resigned his charge to Lord Gormanstown, from whose hands it once more passed into those of Kildare. The popularity of that lord, which was always considerable, was increased by his sister's marriage, in 1480, with Con O'Neill, son to the powerful chieftain of Tyrone, on which occasion her husband declared himself liege subject to the

king of England. Kildare continued in this office during the remainder of the reign of Edward the Fourth, and the reigns of his successors, Edward the Fifth, and Richard the Third, a period which exhibits nothing of Irish affairs except details of provisions made for the security of the English against the continued encroachments of the turbulent natives. The Irish septs were still unconnected, and their attention confined chiefly to their own local interests: some lived peaceably in the English counties, and received pensions to reward their services in expelling invaders; others maintained an independent state in the very neighbourhood of Dublin, and gave employment to the valour and vigilance of the Earl of Kildare; but his resources were abundantly sufficient for repressing such insurgents.

CHAPTER XII.

HENRY VII.—HENRY VIII.

1455 TO 1547.

THE Anglo-Irish subjects, who were warmly attached to the house of York, and who had not been immediate sufferers from the vices of Richard III., heard with sorrow of his death. Aware of that sensation, and anxious to conciliate the country by indulging its partiality for a governor of noble birth, Henry the Seventh, who had been crowned on the field of Bosworth by Lord Stanley, appointed the Duke of Bedford Lord Lieutenant, and permitted the Earl of Kildare to remain his deputy, notwithstanding his known attachment to the house of York. The Earls of Ormond and Desmond, who alone could have

stood in competition with him, lived at a distance; the former at the English court, where he had been restored to favour, and the latter, in rude magnificence in Munster. Without a rival, and placed, as he conceived, above the reach of danger, Kildare soon began to act as an independent sovereign, and rumours to that effect reaching Henry, he summoned him to England to refute the charge; but the earl, who saw the danger of his situation, assembled a parliament, where he resorted to the expedient usual in such cases with the Irish deputies, of obtaining an address, representing that it would be highly dangerous to withdraw him from his government, and with this excuse Henry appears to have been satisfied.

Kildare, however, soon began to tamper secretly with a party formed in England to place on the throne Lambert Simnel, a youth of low extraction, who personated the Earl of Warwick, heir to that Duke of Clarence who had been born in Ireland, and whose son had been confined by Henry in the Tower. The sympathy of the English nation had been lately awakened by a report that he was to be put to death; and being persuaded that in the impostor they beheld the youthful prince, the citizens crowded to his standard. His beauty, and the graceful dignity of his manners, at once confirmed the favourable prepossessions already felt towards him, and Henry vainly endeavoured to do away with the deception by showing the real earl. The people of England were satisfied of the truth of their sovereign; but the Irish persisted that his was the counterfeit, and their "lad," as they familiarly styled him, the true Plantagenet.

A large force, under the command of Martin Swartz, a veteran German, was sent to his support by the Duchess of Burgundy; and at the cathedral

of Christ Church, Dublin, he was solemnly crowned, with a diadem taken from the head of a figure of the Virgin in Mary's Abbey, carried in state to Dublin Castle, on the shoulders of a gigantic Irishman called Darcy, and proclaimed sovereign, by the title of Edward the Sixth. Under that name, he, for some time, administered justice in this island; but the faction which had espoused his cause in England, insisted that he should go thither, to lead them in person. Quitting Ireland, he prepared to grant their request; when his progress was stopped by Henry, who, with a numerous army, met him at the village of Stoke, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire: a battle commenced, which was for some time doubtful, owing to the desperate valour of Swaartz; at length that veteran received a mortal wound; Simnel was totally defeated; and, soon afterwards, as a mark of Henry's supreme contempt, was appointed to be scullion to the royal kitchen.

The king, resolving to punish the Irish delinquents severely, procured a bull, directing the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, (the only prelates who had refused to join the conspiracy,) to pronounce sentence of excommunication against their ecclesiastical brethren. Sir Richard Edgecomb, a confidential officer of the royal household, was sent over at the head of five hundred men, to accept or enforce the submission of the Irish; and the mayor and citizens of Dublin waited to receive him, in the guise of suppliants, at the abbey gate of the friars preachers. Kildare, who had been on a pilgrimage, returned to welcome him, and an interview took place between them at the abbey of St. Thomas, in that part of Dublin now called Thomas-court. Sir Richard produced the king's letters, "not without some show of bitterness," says the chronicler, and the first inter-

view ended unsatisfactorily. Edgecomb, however thought it prudent to allow Kildare to make his own terms. When at length every thing was ready for them to take the oaths drawn up by Edgecomb, the Earl of Kildare demanded that the host, or sacrament, by which they were to swear, should be consecrated by his chaplain. This would have prevented their oath from being considered binding, it being one of the dangerous doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, "that the intention of the officiating priest is necessary to the validity of a religious rite," and the intentions of Kildare's chaplain, the insurgents too well knew, would be in their favour. But Edgecomb was aware of the perfidy of the demand, and insisted that his own chaplain should consecrate the wafer. "This done, the sayd earle was shriven and assoilzied ; and there, in presence of many persons, the sayd earle, holding his right hand over the holy host, made his solemn oathe of allegiance unto our sovereign lord King Henry the Seventh, in such form as was before devised ; and in likewise the bishops and lords made like oathes ; and that done, and the mass ended, the sayd earle, with the sayd Richard, bishoppes, and lordes, went into the church, and in the choir thereof the archbishop of Dublin began 'Te Deum,' the organs sung it up solemnly, and all the bells in the church range." Shortly afterwards, the refractory lords, repairing to England, were entertained at a banquet at Greenwich by Henry, who, to show how lightly he thought of the object of their rebellion, ordered the unfortunate Simnel to serve at table, and pointing to him, observed with sarcastic raillery, "that were their king long absent from them, the Irish would crown apes !"

The Earl of Kildare, restored to favour, was reinstated in his office of deputy, and was soon called on

to crush a war in Ulster, between O'Neill and the chief of Tyrconnell, which continued till it was put an end to by the murder of O'Neill. This hostility, which was carried on with all the barbarity usual at that period, is said to have had its origin in the pride of O'Neill, who demanded that his enemy should recognise his authority by paying tribute, making his requisition in the following laconic terms—"Send me your tribute, or else ——." The answer was expressed with the same fearless brevity—"I owe you none, and if ——!"

The attention of Ireland was, in 1492, turned towards another adventurer, who claimed the sovereignty of England, alleging himself to be the Duke of York, who had escaped from captivity in the Tower. On his appearance, Henry, taught by former experience, determined to entrust the chief offices of government to those in whom he could place most confidence. The Earl of Kildare was removed, Walter, archbishop of Dublin, substituted in his room, and Sir James Ormond, a natural son of the late Duke of Ormond, made treasurer. Kildare, whose mortification at being dismissed was increased by seeing Ormond return to Ireland vested with authority, was but little careful to keep on terms with him; nor was Ormond more forbearing; and the country was distracted by their quarrels, when, in 1493, Perkin Warbeck, the new adventurer, landed at Cork. He wrote without delay to the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, acknowledging their known attachment to the house of York, and inviting them to join his standard. Kildare's answer, if not favourable, was at least such as to raise suspicions of his loyalty, while Desmond openly espoused the part of Warbeck; and Henry, uneasy at the accounts which he received from Ireland, summoned the archbishop

to London, to lay before him its real state, appointing Lord Gormanstown his deputy.

Archbishop Walter, being closely questioned by the king, "Why Ireland, so fruitful a land, yielded so little to England, and why it should be so prone to faction?" simply ascribed it to the wandering habits of life acquired from the native Irish, which made the people irritable, turbulent, and ready for innovation. This answer did not satisfy Henry; but, pleased with the archbishop's simplicity and goodness of heart, he treated him with particular attention. Being present when a foreign ambassador was introduced who expatiated in a florid harangue on the glory and renown of the English monarch, the prelate was asked by Henry his opinion of the oration. "It pleaseth me well," answered Walter, with simplicity, "but methinks it flattereth your highness too much." His partisans trembled for his boldness; but the king, amused by a sincerity which he probably had not often met with, replied, with much good humour—"In sooth, my good Father of Dublin, the same fault occurred to us, and we were minded to observe it."

Kildare, alarmed by Walter's favourable reception, hastened to England, where he offered to justify himself from all accusations; but the king, who had been prepossessed against him by the archbishop, and the partisans of Ormond, told him coldly, that in Ireland those points could be best looked into, and that Sir Edward Poynings had been appointed to the office of Lord Deputy, with authority to investigate the matter.

In 1494, accordingly, Poynings arrived in Dublin, who, expecting little glory from Irish warfare, wished rather to be distinguished as a judicious legislator. Before, however, he could turn his thoughts to civil matters, he was obliged to take the field against O'Hanlon, a northern chieftain. The Earl of Kildare,

who was anxious to regain the royal favour, attended Poynings ; but the governor, hearing that he was in secret correspondence with the enemy, hastily concluded a treaty with O'Hanlon, arrested the earl, and marching to Carlow, besieged and reduced a castle, which Lord James, Kildare's brother, had seized in defiance of royal authority.

In 1495, Poynings assembled a parliament in Drogheda, the general object of which was to reform the manners of the Pale, and relieve it from the oppression of the great lords. In place of the imposition of coyne and livery, a tax of twenty-six shillings and sixpence was laid on every six acres of land, for five years—pensions which had been paid to the lords marchers, for the purpose of defending their possessions, were annulled—it was forbidden to make war or peace without the licence of the deputy—all compulsory alienations of church lands were revoked, military cries and words of distinction, used by different factions, were declared illegal, and murder pronounced to be high treason. But the two acts of greatest consequence here passed, were those which provided that all statutes lately made within the realm of England, and belonging to the public weal of the same, “should be put in force in Ireland; and that no parliament should be holden in Ireland until the acts be certified into England; and any parliament held without that provision should be null and void.” The latter statute was distinguished by the name of “Poynings’ law.” A bill of attainder was passed against the Earl of Kildare, for corresponding with the king's enemies, and the family and adherents of that nobleman were involved in the same disgrace.

Warbeck, meanwhile, having been patronised and then forsaken by the king of France, retired to Scotland, where James IV., believing his claim to be

just, gave him in marriage the beautiful Lady Catherine Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and assisted him with a considerable army. In Scotland he was joined by Desmond, when they marched to besiege Waterford. They were, however, so hotly repelled by the Butler family, as to be obliged to raise the siege. Warbeck returned to England, where, after heading another fruitless insurrection, he was defeated, captured, and executed at Tyburn.

The severity of Sir Edward Poynings against the Earl of Kildare proceeded from the secret malice of his enemies, to whom his great simplicity, tinctured with rudeness, and frequently inflamed by passion, rendered him an easy prey. His conduct had not been free from offence, but the impatience of his kindred at the disgrace of their noble chief, hurried them into extravagances which were often unjustly imputed to him. Poynings having sent him prisoner to England, there to answer to the accusations alleged against him, the king resolved that he should have a personal hearing. Instead of the dark and subtle conspirator whom he expected to see, Henry was astonished when a man presented himself before him, of easy, artless address, and whose boldness argued a consciousness of innocence. Favourably prepossessed by his manner, Henry, to disguise a leaning towards him, ordered him, somewhat sternly, to "prepare able counsel for his defence, as he feared that his cause would require it." "The ablest in the realm," exclaimed the earl, seizing the monarch's hand with uncourtly familiarity, "I take your highness for my counsel against these false knaves." The king smiled at the uncouth compliment, and proceeding to investigate the charges, found them entirely unsupported in what concerned the interests of the crown. His violences were next urged against

him, and it was stated, that he had burned the church of Cashel to the ground. "Spare your evidence," said Kildare, with haughty boldness, "I did set fire to that church, for I thought that the bishop had been in it." His prosecutors, who felt a shade of ridicule thrown upon their accusations by this undesigning manner of pleading the aggravation as an excuse for the offence, closed their allegations, by passionately declaring "That all Ireland could not govern this earl!" "Well, then," replied Henry, who had been entirely satisfied as to his innocence, "this earl shall then govern all Ireland! Kildare's triumph was now perfect. He was restored to his honours and estates, and obtained sufficient influence with the king to procure the pardon of his kinsman Desmond. In 1496, the king completed his favours by bestowing on him the office of chief governor of Ireland, the duties of which station the earl, grateful for the repeated kindness of his sovereign, discharged with the utmost fidelity. He pacified the disturbances within the Pale, and endeavoured, by marrying his daughters into the families of Butler, Earl of Ormond, and De Burgo, Earl of Clanrickard, to attach those powerful nobles to his interest. In the latter instance he was unsuccessful, for Clanrickard's treatment of his wife produced a quarrel between him and her father, which ended in a battle at Knoctua, (now Knockdoe, near the town of Galway,) in 1540.

To that battle, Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, accompanied the earl, who, when his army had advanced within twenty miles of Knocktua, called a council of war, when Nugent declared, "Though my learning be not such, that with a glorious tale I can utter my stomach, I promise to God and the prince, that I will throw the first spear among the Irish in

this battle ; let him speak now that will, for I have done !" Accordingly, a little before the beginning of the combat, in which he led the cavalry, spurring his horse forward, he darted a short spear amongst the Irish, which chanced to kill one of the De Burgos, after which the assailant speedily retreated : "Whereon," says the chronicler, "the Lord Deputy pleasantly told him that he had done both valiant and wisely, seeing that he had first thrown his spear, and afterwards retired." Clanrickard was defeated, and the victory followed by a complete reduction of the degenerate English clans of Connaught.

The Earl of Kildare now set about erecting castles in the Pale, and composing the disorders of particular districts ; and from this reign may be dated the first revival of English power, which, from the Scottish war in the time of Edward the Second, had miserably declined. The haughty chieftains were made to feel the superiority of the English government ; and, perhaps, the greatest difficulty which the governor had to encounter, was to be found in the increasing degeneracy of the English. That degeneracy, which created a number of enemies more inveterate than the old race of natives, proceeded partly from a spirit of insubordination impatient of restraint, and partly from the weakness of government, which left the remoter districts of the Pale so defenceless, that the inhabitants were obliged to court the alliance of the neighbouring Irish. Such an intercourse, the proverbial good nature and hospitality of the natives improved and extended, and at this time so far were they from feeling the rancorous hatred against the English which has been ascribed to them, that the actions and fate of the more considerable settlers are spoken of by the older annalists with affection and sympathy.

In 1509, Henry the Seventh was succeeded by his son Henry the Eighth, who, in the intoxication of youthful gaiety and military success, paid no considerable attention to the affairs of Ireland. Kildare, who continued in the government, resolving to invade Ely O'Carroll, the country of the chieftain of Ely, marched thither at the head of a large army; but being taken ill at Athy, he removed to Kildare, where he died in July 1513, and was buried in St. Mary's chapel in the choir of Christ Church, Dublin. His son, Lord Gerald, was chosen his successor; and the selection proved a happy one, as he inherited the bravery of his father; and the name of Kildare proved a powerful check to the insurgents; but his administration was disgraced by the revival of family feuds between him and the rival house of Ormond. The title and consequence of the family of Butler had, by the death of Thomas, the late earl, devolved on his kinsman Piers, who observed with jealousy the increasing influence of Kildare. To undermine a power which he feared openly to resist, he applied to Cardinal Wolsey, the young king's favourite minister, who was the more readily prepossessed against Kildare, as that earl had never condescended to flatter him. Kildare was soon summoned to London to defend himself from the charges of having squandered the public money, and held treasonable correspondence with the enemy. These accusations were not found to be sufficiently authenticated to justify Henry's pronouncing him guilty, yet, influenced by Wolsey, he did not choose to acquit him; he was, therefore, detained in London until the case could be decided; and, at Wolsey's advice, Lord Surrey, son to the Duke of Norfolk, a stranger to all parties in Ireland, was sent over with a powerful army, as deputy. Kildare was soon afterwards ac-

quitted, and, to ingratiate himself with Henry, attended him to the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Surrey had hardly commenced his government, when he was called on to chastise O'Neill, who had made an incursion into Meath. On the deputy, however, leading his forces against him, the Ulster chieftain, alarmed by their numbers, took flight, and dispatched an embassy to Surrey, in which he humbly implored to be received into the royal favour and protection. In the vain hope that this betokened the submission of the whole kingdom, his offer was favourably received, and under that delusion Henry wrote to Lord Surrey, saying, "We grant that ye shall not only make O'Neill and such of the Irish as ye think good knights, but also give to O'Neill a collar of gold of our livery."

The administration of Surrey deserves the most honourable mention, and was distinguished by the rare merit of pleasing all parties. His justice commanded the respect of the English subjects, whilst his magnificence and hospitality won the admiration even of those natives whom his military talents kept in awe. But it was the misfortune of Ireland, that any governor who had sufficient ability to effect a reform, was generally so necessary to serve the more urgent interests of the crown in England, that he could not be spared from thence long enough to be of permanent utility, or was so ill supplied with money that he was unable to continue in office with honour or advantage. Both of those reasons concurred to produce Lord Surrey's removal. Having received scanty remittances, he grew weary of his situation, and his request to be recalled was granted with the greater readiness, that Henry, who had been prevailed on by Charles the Fifth, emperor of Germany, to undertake a war against France, required him to

command the army which was destined to invade that kingdom. After having been two years in Ireland, he left it amid the prayers and lamentations of all classes of subjects, and his loss was the more felt by the Pale, as he took away almost all the army which had accompanied him thither.

Lord Surrey, who had been prepossessed against the Earl of Kildare, on returning to England represented him to the king as unfit to govern Ireland; and his rival, Piers Butler, called Piers the Red, was made deputy in 1521. He was received with a feeling of discontent which was fostered by Kildare, and their secret enmity soon broke into open warfare. A favorite of the Earl of Ormond being slain in one of those brawls which were but too frequent amongst their followers, each party hastened to the English court to remonstrate against the violence of his rival. Commissioners were sent to Ireland to investigate the matter, when Kildare, supported by his powerful connexions, was not only acquitted, but once more named lord deputy. He had not, however, long enjoyed his recovered dignity when he was nearly ruined by the ambition of his kinsman Desmond. It was discovered that that nobleman had been bribed by Francis I., king of France, to join him against Henry, who immediately issued orders to Kildare to arrest his relative. The earl evaded this painful duty, by pretending that he was obliged to lead his forces to assist O'Neill, who had lately become an ally of England, against some turbulent northern neighbour. The governor's enemies gladly seized the opportunity to accuse him to Henry of duplicity, and not being able to justify himself to the king's satisfaction, he was in 1524, sentenced to a long imprisonment. Desmond allowed himself to be a second time beguiled from his allegiance, by Charles the Fifth,

who, irritated at the union of France and England against the imperial crown, endeavoured to raise an insurrection in Ireland, for which purpose he entered into a negociation with Desmond ; but the death of that lord, in 1528, rendered his treasonable correspondence with Charles and Francis alike ineffectual.

Whilst Henry was totally absorbed by brilliant excursions and important affairs abroad, his Irish kingdom, neglected by its sovereign, was entrusted to chief governors who had the interest of the country little at heart. The Baron of Delvin, the Earl of Ossory, (for Butler had resigned the title of Ormond to Sir Thomas Bullen,) and Sir William Skeffington, were successively deputies. Sir William had not long been in office when Kildare, now restored to favour, brought many allegations against him, which, though unfounded, were, nevertheless, credited. In Wolsey, who had lately died, the earl had lost a determined enemy, and his cause being espoused by powerful friends, he was again, in 1532, created governor. Soon after this appointment, Alan, archbishop of Dublin, was displaced from his office of Chancellor to make room for Cromer, a friend of Lord Kildare, and, to preserve a semblance of impartiality, Lord Butler, son to the Earl of Ossory, was appointed lord high treasurer.

The Earl of Kildare soon began to affect the rude grandeur of an Irish chieftain, rather than the dignity of a vicegerent, and placed himself at the head of a wild and rapacious multitude of followers, to the annoyance and terror of those he was bound to protect. In defiance of the law, which forbade such connexions, he gave his daughters in marriage to two powerful Irish chieftains. Those lords of the Pale who appeared most inimical to the English government, were received by him as friends, whilst

the Earl of Ossory and his adherents were treated as enemies to the state. As some excuse for his conduct, a report was whispered amongst his friends that his intellects had been impaired by a shot which he received in the head, whilst assisting his son-in-law, O'Connor of Ophally, to recover one of his castles. On feeling himself wounded, he uttered a groan so deep as to excite the compassion of one of his soldiers, who, to comfort him, observed, that he had himself been shot thrice, and yet had recovered. "Would to God," answered the earl, with less courtesy than candour, "since thou makest so light of the matter, that thou hadst also received the fourth shot in my stead !" The Earl of Ossory, Sir William Skeffington, and Alan, the deprived archbishop, at length unanimously resolved to lay before the throne a statement not only of Kildare's misdemeanours, but a general representation of the disorders of the kingdom. They set forth the confined extent of territory in which the English laws, habits, manners, and language were used, which was now reduced within the narrow compass of twenty miles, and this they justly attributed to the oppressive exactions by which the English tenantry had been driven from their settlements; the grievous tribute they had been obliged to pay the Irish lords for a precarious protection; the enormous jurisdiction granted to the nobles of the English race, which gave them power to oppress; the want of sufficient revenue, and the too frequent change of chief governors; and they concluded by intreating the king, that for the future the deputy should be sent from England, as his sole object would then probably be the honour and interest of the crown, unconnected with those of the Irish faction.

Henry becoming aware, by this application, of the Earl of Kildare's unfitness for his trust, despatched

a mandate desiring him to proceed to England without delay. The earl, conscious of his irregularities, endeavoured to evade the order; but the king was inflexible, and Kildare, finding himself forced to obey, previous to his departure supplied his castles with arms and ammunition from the royal stores, and then took the still more fatal step of entrusting the administration of government to his son Thomas, who had scarcely arrived at the age of one-and-twenty.

The appearance and manners of this youth, who, from the richness of his dress, was called "Silken Thomas," were particularly captivating; but vain of the greatness of the Geraldines, by which name his family was designated, and exposed by his credulous temper to the adulation of flatterers, he offended the lords by his petulant haughtiness towards them. Hearing that his father had been beheaded in London, he consulted with his adherents as to what steps he should take, and by their advice plunged at once into rebellion. Determined, however, to act with the generosity of a soldier, he rushed with his followers into the chamber of Saint Mary's Abbey, where the Irish lords sat in council, and resigning the sword of state, declared to the astonished assembly, that henceforth they must consider him as an enemy, as he was obliged to take deadly vengeance for his father's disgrace. The council regarded him for a few moments in mute astonishment, when Cromer, archbishop of Dublin, seizing the hand of the impetuous youth, remonstrated against his guilt in becoming a rebel, his folly in imagining that he could reduce a whole kingdom, also representing the fickleness of the soldiery, and the ruin in which he would probably involve his family. Attached to the noble youth, whom he considered on the brink of destruction, he spoke with vehemence and emotion. His exhortation

was received with a stare of ignorance and surprise by the Lord Thomas's Irish followers, who conceived that the prelate pronounced a eulogium on their valiant young leader; and one of the native minstrels instantly began to chant the praises of the gallant SILKEN Lord, concluding his eulogy by calling on him in the name of his father to take the field against his destroyer. The effusions of an ignorant rhapsodist produced a greater effect than the counsels of the prelate; and the young earl rushed from the chamber at the head of his undisciplined train. The Irish septs readily joined his standard, and in a little time, having devastated great part of the Pale, he appeared before Dublin, threatening destruction by fire and sword if it were not without delay surrendered to him. The Constable of Dublin advised the inhabitants to admit him on his own terms; on which archbishop Alan, dreading his vengeance, resolved to seek safety in flight; but the vessel in which he embarked was permitted, through the treachery of the pilot, to be stranded near Clontarf, and Alan, discovered by the enemy in the adjacent village, was dragged from his bed, naked as he was, and led before their captain. The unhappy prelate, falling on his knees, implored mercy on "a Christian and a churchman;" but the haughty young lord, turning his horse's head another way, exclaimed, in Irish, "Away with the churl!" and while the suppliant's hands were yet uplifted, he was hewed in pieces by the soldiers.

This act was probably not intended by Thomas, as he had not inflicted any punishment on his enemies more severe than imprisonment, and had even written to Butler, the hereditary foe of his house, proposing that Ireland, when conquered, should be divided between them; but Butler nobly answered,

that "were his estates to be laid waste, and his castles prostrated, he would to the last persevere in his duty to his sovereign."

The citizens of Dublin, who had been obliged to admit a party of the Geraldines to storm the castle, privately sent to King Henry intreating assistance. This he immediately promised, which so encouraged the applicants, that they shut the gates, enclosing within them the storming party. Lord Thomas, enraged at their treachery, collected his troops to begin a siege; but the bad success of his attempts rendered his cause daily more desperate, and he was at length contented to obtain the release of his soldiers, by giving in exchange a number of children captured by him, on their being removed from Dublin to avoid the plague which had been for some time raging there.

Foiled in all his attempts, pressed by the severity of winter, and unable to oppose his tumultuary forces against a regularly-disciplined army, the young earl was now little more than a wretched outlaw, at the head of a few partisans. Driven from one scene of misery to another, he contrived to escape to Munster, where he was followed by Lord Leonard Grey, one of the most active and warlike attendants on the deputy. After some inconsiderable skirmishes, fought without any decisive advantage on either side, overtures were proposed by Lord Grey, and willingly accepted by Fitz-Gerald. Some of his adherents had been executed; others, less zealous, were preparing to make their peace with government. Nothing but submission, therefore, remained for the hopeless youth, and having received assurances of protection from Henry, he consented to dismiss his troops, and accompany Lord Leonard Grey to Dublin.

After the suppression of this rebellion, Lord Skeffington was recalled, and Lord Leonard Grey, at the

request of the English nobles, appointed to succeed him.

Lord Thomas Fitzgerald now proposed to throw himself at the king's feet ; but he had little chance of mercy from so vindictive a prince. In a letter to Lord Leonard Grey he abjectly entreated him to intercede for his pardon, life, and lands, and the council joined the deputy in an earnest prayer, that in consideration of the hopes held out to him, he might experience the royal clemency ; but all this softened not the cruel heart of Henry. "The apprehension of Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald," he wrote, "we accept it thankfully ; yet if he had been apprehended after such a manner as was more convenable to his deservings, the same had been much better to our contentation." The noble prisoner was cast into the tower of London, where he was denied the common necessities of life, as appears from a statement made by him to Lord Rothe. "I never had anye money," wrote the unhappy captive, "sins I came into pryson, but a nobull ; I have had nothyr hosyn, nor dublet, nor shoys, nor shirt, but on, nor any othyr garment, but a syngyll fryse gowne ; and so I have gone wollward, and barefote, and barelegyd diverse times, when ytt hath not been very warme, and so I shud have done still, and now, but that poor prysoners, of their gentylness, hath sometimes given me old hosyn, and shoys, and old shirtes!!! Alas ! for silken Thomas!" His sufferings, already so severe, were increased by the agonising intelligence that his father, on whose account he had undergone so much, had not been beheaded, but had died of vexation at learning the rashness of his son. The petitions of the captive were disregarded, the promises of protection violated, and Henry, breathing vengeance against the entire house of Kildare, ordered his five

uncles to be apprehended. Of these, two had strongly disapproved the rebellion, but the innocent were condemned to suffer with the guilty, and having been treacherously seized at a banquet given by Lord Leonard Grey, were sent to London, where, with their criminal but unfortunate nephew, they suffered the extreme penalty of the law. When emissaries sent by Lord Thomas to Charles the Fifth, arrived at his court, the intelligence of the fatal catastrophe had already preceded them!

The vengeance of Henry extended even to the younger brother of Lord Thomas, a child of twelve years old. His attempt was, however, foiled by the guardians of the boy, who conveyed him to his aunt, the widow of Mac Carthy, Irish prince of Desmond. Desirous of preserving the only remaining scion of a noble stock, she married a chieftain called O'Donnell, on condition of his protecting her nephew; but finding O'Donnell treacherously bargaining to give him up, she conveyed him to France, where Henry, meanly demanding him as a rebel, Francis I. assisted his escape to Flanders: the same demand was made to the emperor, who indignantly refused it, and the young Geraldine was placed by his aunt under the protection of Cardinal Pole, and, in defiance of Henry's prohibition, educated by him suitably to his rank, and by his favour and support preserved to regain the honours of the family of Kildare.

Europe had, for some time, beheld with anxiety the rapid and successful progress of LUTHER, a monk hitherto distinguished only by piety and learning; he had attacked the various errors which had gradually overspread religion in times of darkness—had for a while been weakly opposed, then strenuously supported, and, striking at the foundation of the system of popery, denied the pope's infallibility,

and taught his disciples to renounce human authority, and resort to the word of God as the standard of faith and duty. In England, where the laity had suffered much from clerical encroachment, they were not entirely unprepared for the Lutheran doctrines; and Henry, (though at first unfavourably disposed towards innovations which might interfere with his kingly prerogative,) being provoked by the various delays and duplicity of Pope Clement VII. regarding the divorce from Queen Catherine, openly renounced the papal authority; and the inclination of Anna Boleyn, his newly-married wife, towards the doctrine preached by Luther, confirmed King Henry in its favour. Parliament invested him with the title of supreme head of the church in England, and all the power annexed to that supremacy; and thus a way was opened to the suppression of monasteries, and the communication to the people of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue.

Henry, elated at the prompt compliance which his scheme of reformation met with in England, resolved on extending it to Ireland. A friar of the order of St. Augustine, named George Brown, who had been made Archbishop of Dublin, gained the approbation of Sir Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's successor in Henry's favour, by the courage with which he declared from the pulpit the futility of penance, and of imploring the intercession of departed saints. He was commissioned by his patron to procure a general acknowledgment of the king's supremacy; but this proved a more difficult matter than was expected by either Henry or his minister.

Ireland was, in 1529, so torn by civil convulsions, that although the oppressions of popery were grievously felt, they seemed minor evils amongst all those which the natives had to endure. One of the fatal con-

sequences of excluding the Irish from the benefits of English law, was the encouragement of a disorderly kind of life, which naturally cherished blindness and bigotry. Even in those dioceses where civilisation was most prevalent, the bishops found it impossible to extend their pastoral care to the districts occupied by the old natives. Their clergy being refractory, were excluded from the synods where they claimed a right to be present; the ministers were without knowledge; their congregations consequently without instruction, and, in proportion to their ignorance, abjectly attached to the papal authority, which they now with horror heard impeached; besides, Ireland having been, for nearly three hundred years, represented as a fief of Rome, it was considered more especially profane to decry the authority of the pope in his patrimony. Their distance from the King, led the people to speak their sentiments the more boldly.

No sooner had Cromwell demanded an acknowledgment of Henry's supremacy, than Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, who had been affronted by his removal from the chancellorship, openly declared against an attempt so impious. He summoned the clergy, represented the danger the country was in from innovation—exhorted them to protect the religion of their ancestors, and pronounced an anathema against all who should sacrilegiously comply with Cromwell's demand. His opposition enlivened the zeal of the friends of Rome; and the king, who had imagined that his wishes would not have met with any resistance, found, to his mortification, the commission treated with indifference, and his vicar made a subject of ridicule. Archbishop Browne, in one of his letters to Lord Cromwell, tells him, with uncourtly simplicity, "Our country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in the Irish tongue

“*mac an gobáin*,” “the blacksmith’s son.” Browne, finding that his life became at last endangered by the popish party, was obliged to inform the vicar of his failure, and Cromer’s violent opposition; referring the conduct of the Irish entirely to their melancholy ignorance, “utter strangers, as they were, to the language in which they said mass,” and strongly recommending that an Irish parliament should be summoned without delay, to enforce, *by law*, a general acknowledgment of the king’s supremacy.

His advice was followed—a parliament was assembled in Dublin in 1536, which, after settling the succession to the crown upon the children of Lady Jane Seymour, whom Henry had just espoused, proceeded to discuss the subject of the reformation. The king was pronounced supreme head of the church, the denial of which was to be considered as high treason; the authority of the pope was wholly renounced, and all payments of pensions to Rome, or suing for dispensations, was prohibited; it was forbidden to present benefices to any minister who did not speak English; and, in order to promote the further knowledge of the language, English schools were ordered to be kept in every parish. By one act alone, twelve religious houses were suppressed, and by another, the demesnes of *all* were vested in the crown for ever. Acts for the preservation of the Pale were likewise made and well received; those regarding the church had to encounter the opposition of ignorance and bigotry.

After the prorogation of parliament, Lord Leonard Grey made a progress through a great part of the kingdom, beginning in Ophally, and passing through Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, obliging the nobles to renew their engagements to England, and acknowledge Henry supreme

head of the church. But whilst the king and his ministers were thus endeavouring to effect the reformation in Ireland, the clergy of Rome no less industriously set every engine in motion to counteract their exertions. Cromer and his associates were empowered to absolve from their oaths those who had been persuaded to acknowledge Henry's supremacy ; while they who were disaffected to government were encouraged to draw the sword against the "heretics," by an assurance that a prophecy had lately been found, which predicted, that "*the ROMISH church should fall when the Catholic faith was overthrown in Ireland.*" O'Neill, excited by a letter to this effect addressed to him in 1539, by the archbishop of Metz, in Germany, led a large body of his lawless vassals into Meath, and boldly declared war against the "invaders of the papal rights." Lord Grey collected his troops to repel him, and, at the deputy's request, a reinforcement was sent from England under the command of Sir William Brereton, a knight who was so zealous in the service of his master, that having had the misfortune to sprain his thigh while he was exercising his men on the English shore, he insisted on being raised by pulleys into his vessel rather than delay his voyage. The parties met at Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, when a hot conflict ended in a total defeat of O'Neill, whose broken army fled to their different homes.

So fierce was the antipathy of this lawless chieftain to the English, that it extended even to a hatred of the species of architecture which they had introduced in Ireland ; and, fearful lest his contemporaries, relatives, or posterity, should aim at having fortalices like those built by their "invaders," he solemnly cursed any kinsman who should now, or in future, erect such edifices, saying, that in so doing

“they would resemble the crow, who builds her nest but to be beaten out of it by the hawk.”

The victory of Bellahoe closed the services of Lord Leonard Grey. He was immediately recalled, and at first favourably received, but his severity had made him unpopular in Ireland, and the malice of his adversaries pursued him to the English court, where, amongst many other false accusations, they charged him with favouring the escape of the young Gerald of Kildare, and with holding correspondence with the king's enemies. Grey, who had been committed to the Tower, might easily have justified himself, but being brought to trial for high treason, and terrified by the idea of the king's harshness, he pleaded guilty, threw himself on the mercy of a prince who had none, and perished on the scaffold.

Upon his death, the disaffected Irish and the partisans of Rome acquired new courage, and the chieftains of Ulster resolved, once more, to draw the sword against heresy. But Sir William Brereton attacked them with such success, that, beginning to consider the papal cause desperate, numbers of monasteries were resigned into Henry's hands, and the prior of Christ church in Dublin submitted to change his community into that of a dean and chapter.

To encourage these promising dispositions, and to give more weight to the English government, a parliament was held in 1541 by Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had been appointed to succeed Lord Leonard Grey as deputy, where it was enacted that the title of *Lord* of Ireland should be exchanged for that of *KING*. This was announced with the utmost solemnity as an event highly interesting to the people and honourable to the sovereign, and the bill was received with joyful unanimity. The following Sunday was a day of general rejoicing; lords and gentlemen went in

procession to Saint Patrick's cathedral, where the act was proclaimed in the presence of two thousand people, and a grand *Te Deum* sung. "Then," writes Saint Leger, "were great bonfires made—wine was set in the streets, and there were great feastings in the houses."

No sooner had Henry asserted his claim to the complete sovereignty of Ireland, than all the nobles arrayed themselves on the side of the crown, abolished the subordinate title of *Lord*, the only one which had been permitted by the pope, and proclaimed him King of Ireland and SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH. "When they had once resolved to obey the king," says Davis, "they made no scruple of renouncing the pope." This unanimity was not confined to the lords of English blood. The powerful *Irish* chieftains emulated each other in professions of allegiance; O'Connor, O'Dunne, and O'Donnel gave pledges of fidelity; Desmond delivered up his son, to be educated in the English manner, to the deputy, whom he received and feasted in Kilmallock, a town built in a part of Munster, into which no governor dared venture *for a hundred years before*; and, in a letter from St. Leger to the king, the dangerous, perverse, and outlawed noble, is described as "undoubtedly a very wise and discreet gentleman."

From Meath, as well as from Connaught, and the remoter regions of the north and south, the most turbulent heads



of the Irish tribes, together with those of the old English race who had adopted the Irish manners, and lived in rude independence, vied with each other in declarations of fidelity to the King. O'Neill, who promised to renounce the habits, manners, style, and name of *O'Niall*, was created a peer of the realm of Ireland by the title of Earl of Tyrone, a chain of gold being given him as a mark of that honour. The numerous candidates for court favour, emerging from their haunts, found a zealous promoter of their interests in the lord deputy; and amongst other requests made by him, was one which throws a curious light upon the condition of the formidable Irish dynasts. Desmond, descended from a great English family, and styled "the noblest man in the realm," supplicates the king to provide him with robes to wear in parliament, and likewise, "*apparel for his daily use, whereof he hath great lack.*" St. Leger had already given a gown, jacket, doublet, hose, and other articles, for which he was very thankful, and which he wore whenever he accompanied the deputy. The happiest effects were produced by the hopes of clemency. It had been found necessary to imprison two of the Geraldine knights who had long wasted the country by their feuds. "Here," says St. Leger, "they now agree very well together, lying in one bed, though before they did not agree in a country of forty miles length between them." "I intend," he adds, "to send them home free, apparelled like Englishmen, for at present they are in their saffron shirts and Kernoghe's coats."

Henry, to attach his new adherents more strongly to him, created De Burgo, the Mac William, or *Fitz-William*, as he has since been called, Earl of Clanrickard and Baron of Dunkellin. O'Brien he made Earl of Thomond and Baron of Inchiquin, and

his son Connor, Baron of Ibracken ; the ceremony was performed in the queen's closet at Greenwich, which was richly hung with cloth of arras, and well *strewed with rushes for the purpose*; and a house and certain quantity of land near Dublin was given to each lord, for the convenience of attending parliament.

The deputy had now time to turn his attention towards the church and state in Munster and Connaught, where, though the land had been formerly divided to English settlers, the laws of England had fallen into disuse for two hundred years. How much the church stood in need of reform, may be inferred from St. Leger's finding it necessary to provide, "that bishops should be *allowed* to execute their jurisdiction, and that *laymen and boys* should not be admitted to ecclesiastical preferment." For the better regulation of the Pale, coyne and livery were prohibited to be exacted, **except** by the command of the deputy, and the established contribution was ordered to be paid to the captain of the district. The nobles were permitted to wear only twenty cubits of linen in their shirts ; inferiors were ordered to make use of less ; and all were forbidden to dye their vests with saffron, according to the custom of the old offenders. Henry was to be universally acknowledged king of Ireland ; and the Earls of Ormond and Desmond were made the guardians of these ordinances in Munster, with the assistance of the archbishop of Cashel.

The hereditary possessions of the great lords throughout the kingdom were ordered to be held by military service ; but the inferior chieftains were still left in a state of dependence on their more powerful neighbours, so that the old Irish system of vassalage continued in use, as did the Brehon law, by which

the Irish nobles had hitherto ruled the English in their territories. O'Byrne, whose sept had often harassed the capital of the kingdom, but who had lately sworn allegiance, begged that his territory might be converted into an English county, by the name of Wicklow, but was refused through the timidity of the government. Another similar request from the chieftain of the land, called "the Annaly," (now Longford,) was also rejected. The only new arrangement which parliament ventured to establish, was the division of Meath into counties, the eastern and western.

Sir Anthony St. Leger's administration must, therefore, be considered rather as a good beginning, than a perfecting of the scheme of bringing Ireland into allegiance to the king. Little solid advantage was derived from the present general submission, notwithstanding the brilliant appearance, government being still too weak to insist on the observance of the acts of parliament. But though the pacific measures of the governor proved less effectual than he desired, they so much conciliated the affections of the people, that Francis the First, king of France, in vain endeavoured to seduce the chieftain of Tyrconnel from his allegiance; and Sir William Brabazon, St. Leger's successor, was able to send to Henry's assistance, to Calais, seven hundred volunteers, by whom such wild feats of valour were performed, that the astonished French despatched an ambassador, to inquire of the monarch "whether he had brought with him men or devils." And so greatly was the spirit of loyalty increased in Ossory, that when a son of Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory, had committed some treasonable offence against the crown, he was delivered to public justice by the hands of his father.

CHAPTER XIII.

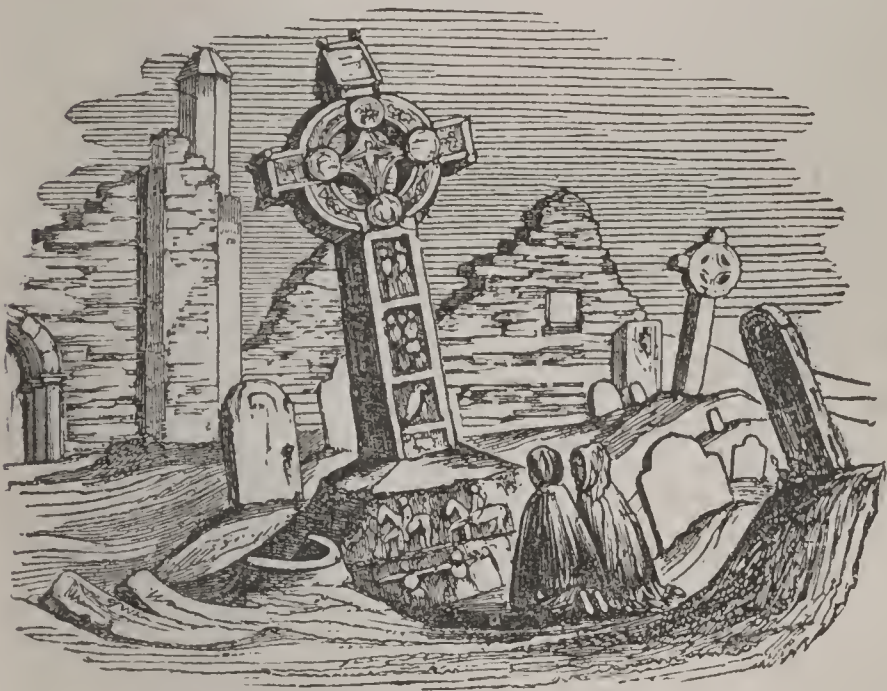
EDWARD VI.—MARY.

1547 TO 1558.

IN the commencement of the reign of the young king, Edward the Sixth, those rapid changes were made in the administration of Ireland, by which its interests were so often and so materially injured. St. Leger, who had been displaced in the latter part of Henry's life, was restored to the deputyship, and Bellingham, an active officer, sent to the support of his government. By him Desmond, who had again begun to assume his usual state of wild independence, was not only reduced, but won over to the English interest so completely by his conqueror's lenient treatment, that he ever after daily prayed for "the good Bellingham," as he styled him. To reward Bellingham for his services, he was made deputy; to him succeeded Bryan and Brabazon; when the English council, resuming their favourite scheme of extending the Reformation in Ireland, and considering St. Leger a suitable person to promote it, appointed him a third time to the dignity of governor.

The difficulties which he had to encounter were great. While the enemies of the English government regarded a change in religion as arbitrary and oppressive, the more peaceable were terrified by the denunciations of Rome against "the heretics." No pains had been taken to enlighten the ignorance of the lower classes, to explain to them the difference of the tenets now proposed, from those which they had been accustomed to receive, or to make them understand the language in which its doctrines were published. The Irish were, besides prejudiced by

the conduct of those of the reformed religion, who were first sent over to their cures. It had been found impossible at once to obtain zealous and able ministers : and the injudicious violence with which the early reformers set about their work, prejudiced their cause. Not content with overthrowing the images, they seized and exposed to sale the most valuable furniture of the churches ; and the Irish annalists pathetically describe the pillage of the cathedral of Clonmacnoise in particular, when books,



bells, plate, and windows, were torn away, and the shrine of the favourite Saint KIERAN “left a hideous monument of sacrilege.”

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, when the royal proclamation was issued, A. D. 1551, commanding, that the Liturgy “*translated*,” as it was

cautiously expressed, "from the Latin," should be received and read in English. This measure was violently opposed by Archbishop Dowdal, who, on the death of Cromer, had succeeded to the primacy. Browne, archbishop of Dublin, on the other hand, declared his acceptance of the king's order, the bishops of Meath, Kildare, Leighlin, and Limerick, concurring with him; and the Liturgy in English was soon after read in the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, in the presence of the deputy, magistrates, and clergy.

Sir Anthony St. Leger being removed, at the instance of Archbishop Browne, who accused him of indifference to the cause of the Reformation, a new governor was appointed, and he studied to conciliate Dowdal, who had retired, with an appearance of offended dignity, to St. Mary's Abbey, declining to take any further part in the controversy. As the Reformation was not yet established by law in Ireland, the court could not legally vindicate its authority, but it prepared a punishment for Primate Dowdal, which was deeply mortifying to his sullen spirit.

The question of precedence had long been agitated between the sees of Armagh and Dublin. It had at length been decided, that each prelate should be styled primate, but that the archbishop of Dublin should be designated primate of *Ireland*, while the archbishop of Armagh should have the title of primate of *all* Ireland. To annoy Dowdal, this arrangement was reversed; and by the king's patent Armagh was deprived of the superior title, which, with all its privileges, was conferred on Browne. Stung with this mortification, Dowdal abandoned his diocese, and no time was lost in naming his successor.

The apprehensions of disorder arising from religious controversy, had caused such a vigilant discharge of the administration, that hopes were for some time entertained of the possibility of reducing Ireland to a state of tranquillity. A great obstacle, indeed, remained in the continued observance of the Brehon law ; in conformity with which, on the death of the Earl of Thomond, in 1553, his sept elected as Tanist, Daniel O'Brien, son to the chieftain who had been their favourite. By the interposition of England, he had been obliged to relinquish this dignity, but waited only for a fair occasion to assert it.

The territory of O'Niall, or O'Neill, (as the name is now usually spelled,) the dynast of Ulster, was that which at present gave most trouble to England. Matthew, eldest but illegitimate son to the earl of Tyrone, had been, by his father's solicitation, created Baron of Dungannon. This inflamed the jealousy of his brother *Shane*, or John, who contrived to prejudice the weak parent not only against him, but against the government, by which a person, illegitimately born, had been countenanced. Some attempts to annoy Matthew raising the suspicions of the deputy, O'Neill and his countess were confined in Dublin, while Shane, attacking Matthew, whom he pretended to consider the cause of this disgrace, kindled a war, which for years was not extinguished.

The hopes of the reformers in Ireland were bitterly disappointed by the untimely death of Edward the Sixth, in 1553, and the accession of his sister Mary, a well-known advocate of popery. By her command a license was published in this country, as well as in England, for the celebration of mass, without penalty or compulsion, while particular favours were conferred on papists, who pleaded their services or their sufferings, and George Dowdal was restored

to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, with the dignity of primate of *all* Ireland.

The romance of young Gerald of Kildare's life terminated happily. Preserved by his uncle, Cardinal Pole, from all the attempts made by Henry the Eighth to procure his destruction, he had in the reign of Edward the Sixth, retired to England, where his graceful figure and engaging manners had captivated the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, a knight of the Garter. By marrying this lady, he formed an alliance which gained for him the royal favour. He had been knighted, and restored to part of his honours by Edward the Sixth: Mary added all the estates forfeited by his father; and thus enriched, he returned to his native country. At the same time, Charles Kavanagh, head of the sept of MacMurchad, was created a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron of Ballyan, and was, **by** the patent, designated captain of his sept.

Queen Mary having married the King of Spain, and, with the object of reconciling her kingdom to the Holy See, admitted Cardinal Pole into England as legate, turned her thoughts towards restoring the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, and for that purpose the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Lieutenant, was directed to convene a parliament. It assembled on the first day of June, 1556, when the governor read aloud a bull, which the pope had transmitted through Cardinal Pole, wherein the separation of Ireland from Rome was imputed to fear, and a plenary indulgence pronounced to all the inhabitants. All ecclesiastical proceedings during the late schism were ratified by it, and the parliament was enjoined to abrogate every law against the supremacy of the pope. The bull was read aloud by the chancellor, kneeling, and, in token of contrition, received in the

same posture by the assembly. The party then adjourning to the cathedral, a *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted, and a public thanksgiving offered up for the present happy restoration of the realm to the unity of the church. By another act of the same parliament, the districts of Leix and Ophally, where a formidable insurrection had been recently quelled, were denominated the King's and Queen's counties, and vested in the crown. But the most important bill passed at this session, was one by which the law of Poynings was extended and enforced.

As not any warm adversaries of popery stood forth to provoke the severity of persecution, it did not rage in this island with the same fury as in England; but Mary, resolved to check the spirit of the Reformation wherever it appeared, sent the dean of St. Paul's to Ireland with a commission to the council, empowering it to proceed against heretics with the utmost severity. Showing his commission at Chester with great exultation to his hostess, she, who was allied to some Protestants who had retired to Dublin, dexterously stole it from the box in which it was deposited. The dean proceeded on his voyage, appeared before the council, and having explained the queen's intention, drew forth, as he supposed, his credentials, when, to his consternation, and the astonishment of the assembly, he gravely presented them with a pack of cards

An incident which is told of one who occupies a conspicuous place in Irish history, may not be uninteresting to the reader, although, perhaps, belonging more particularly to the annals of England. "The common net," says the quaint words of the old writer from whom this extract is taken, "at that time for the catching of Protestants, was the *real presence*; and this net was used to catch the Princess

ELIZABETH; for being asked one time what she thought of the words of Christ, '*This is my body,*' it is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered—

‘ Christ was the Word that spake it,
He took the bread, and brake it;
And what that Word did make it,
THAT I BELIEVE, and take it.’ ”

Domestic dissension had for some time raged in the family of O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel. The aged chieftain of the tribe had been thrown into prison by his son Calvagh: his second son, hardly less unnatural, hastened to Shane O'Neill, pressed him to seize a favourable moment of forcing the Earl of Tyrone to submission, and offered to assist in invading his own country. O'Neill willingly acceding, led his followers into Tyrconnel, on which, that the ravagers might be deprived of sustenance, the inhabitants drove away their cattle, but O'Neill treated the expedient with scorn. “Let them turn our prey into Leinster, or hide it in Louth,” he cried, “we shall pursue it. No power shall protect our enemies, or stop the progress of the sovereigns of Ulster.”

Calvagh and his father were reconciled by the common danger; and Calvagh, advising that an attack should be made by night upon the enemies' camp, two young Irishmen offered themselves as spies—passed the guards—mixed with the soldiers, and made their observations unheeded. An unusual blaze of tapers directed them to O'Neill's pavilion, where he lay, surrounded by sixty-six Irish vassals bearing battle axes, and as many mercenary Scots, with broad-swords and targets.

So little was the intention of the youths suspected, that when supper was brought to the soldiers, the spies were invited to partake of it

To give information, however, against these men afterwards, would have been to violate the laws of hospitality; they, therefore, declined their courtesy, and, returning to their companions, narrated all that they had seen. Even old O'Donnell mounted his horse, and offered to lead his men to the attack. They were formed by Calvagh into a compact body, and, under the conduct of the spies, burst into the camp at midnight. O'Neill, to whose tent they pressed forward with dreadful slaughter, starting at the tumult, found himself abandoned by his guards, and fled precipitately, on which his whole army dispersed, and left the victors to enjoy the plunder of the camp.

The English had not sufficient power or authority to interpose in this local war. The Earl of Sussex had been recalled to England, and Sir Henry Sydney, who was governor during his absence, first in conjunction with the Archbishop of Dublin, and afterwards singly, found sufficient employment in regulating the Pale, while the Romish clergy held their synods for the complete establishment of their rites and ceremonies. The ornaments of many of their churches were recovered and replaced, and several Irish chieftains of inferior note were reconciled to a government so zealously attached to their communion. Sussex was obliged to march to Thomond to repress the violences of O'Brien, and the sudden appearance of the deputy dispersing the rude followers of that chieftain, restrained his violences for a time. His nephew was created *Earl* of Thomond, and consented to hold his lands as an English subject, swearing allegiance to the king and queen, and renouncing the name of O'Brien, to the utter mortification of his Irish adherents. "He accepted the title of earl," say their annalists, "but

gave up the dignity of DALCAIS,* to the astonishment and indignation of all the descendants of Heber and Heremon."

The triumph of the Roman Catholic party was, however, about to suffer a downfall, by the death of their patroness, Mary, who expired in 1558. On this occasion, Lord Conyngham, an Irish peer, who had been obliged by persecution to fly from his country, and seek refuge in his mansion in Saint Ceadan's parish, in Shrewsbury, hearing a sudden ringing of all the bells of that town, guessed that it was for the death of the queen. Longing to know the truth, and unwilling to trust his servants, he sent his eldest son to inquire, desiring him to throw up his hat if he had conjectured rightly. The son finding matters as his father imagined, gave the desired signal, when, overcome by a variety of emotions, the earl retired from the window—with difficulty regained his chair, and expired "from extremity of joy." Protestants being at that time debarred from Christian burial, he was interred in his garden at St. Ceadan's, where a monument was erected over him.

CHAPTER XIV.

ELIZABETH.

1558 TO 1603.

AT the beginning of ELIZABETH's reign, a series of disturbances in Ireland increased the anxiety which the queen suffered from her own country. O'Nei' had recovered from his defeat, and collecting his

* So the militia of south Munster, formed by Brian Borumha, were styled.

followers who had fled from Tyrconnel, claimed the sovereignty of Ulster, notwithstanding his brother Matthew having been pronounced by the realm, his father's lawful successor. To increase the opinion which his followers entertained of his consequence, he refused to attend Sir Henry Sydney to his quarters, but invited Sydney, who governed in the absence of Lord Sussex, to his house, to stand sponsor to his son. The deputy, who thought it politic to comply, was received with rude magnificence. On remonstrating against the late conduct of his host, O'Neill defended his behaviour, by alleging that he was the rightful heir, both as being the eldest legitimate son, and also having been chosen by the free election of his countrymen. Sir Henry, finding that his answers to these arguments were far from satisfying that aspiring chieftain, advised him to appeal directly to the queen. O'Neill agreed as to the propriety of this, and parted amicably from the deputy.

In the year 1560, the English currency was restored by Elizabeth to its sterling value; the old money was called in, and every person obtained the nominal value of the base coin in new, sterling money.

The reformation extended to Ireland, and the joy of her distressed people was expressed in the following popular ballad, which has been preserved by Mr. Simon, in his *Essay on Irish Coins*:—

Let bonfires shine in every place,
Sing, and ring the bells apace,
And pray that long may live her grace
To be the Queen of Ireland.

The gold and silver, which was so base
That no man could endure it scarce,
Is now new coined with her own face
And made to go current in Ireland

The gold coins of Elizabeth were particularly beautiful: they were sovereigns, half-sovereigns or reals, the latter word being a corruption of *royals*; nobles, double nobles, angels, half angels, pieces of an angel and a half, three-angel coins, and half-crowns. One pound of gold was coined into 24 sovereigns, or 36 nominal pounds; for the value of the *sovereign* was thirty shillings, that of the *royal*, fifteen shillings; the angel, ten shillings.

Early in the year 1560, Lord Sussex, who had gone to England, returned to his government, and, by the queen's command, assembled a parliament on the eleventh of January, where the ecclesiastical system of Mary was reversed, and the reformed religion established, but not without considerable opposition, most of the temporal lords being attached to the Roman Catholic faith. Sussex was so alarmed by the resistance which he encountered, that he dissolved the parliament in a few weeks, and, returning to England, entrusted the government to Sir William Fitzwilliam, a person too inconsiderable to enforce his authority. Under his administration every thing seemed to go wrong: the clergy who had refused to conform, abandoned their cures, and, as no Protestant ministers could, for some time, be found to supply their places, the churches fell to ruin, and the people were left wholly without religious instruction.

O'Neill, meanwhile, ravaged the Pale, breathing the most rancorous hatred against England. To notify his antipathy in the strongest manner, he caused one man to be hanged, on suspicion of being an Englishman—pronounced the same sentence on another, merely for eating *English* biscuit—and named a strong fort, erected on one of his islands, "FOGH NE GALL" or, "the abomination of Englishmen."

Sussex, who had returned to his government, marched against him, but before he proceeded to an open rupture, makes overtures of accommodation, with which O'Neill was on the point of closing, when he heard a report that the governor intended to imprison him. Upon this, he resolved to submit his case to the royal decision, and present himself before the queen, in a manner suited to his dignity. With a magnificent train of Irish followers, he appeared in London, attended by a guard of Gallow-glasses, arrayed in the richest habiliments of the country, armed with battle-axes, their heads bare, their hair flowing down their shoulders, and their linen vests dyed with saffron, over which they wore their short harness. Elizabeth received him graciously, and was so much pleased with the artlessness, and yet flattery, of his address, that she dismissed him with presents and assurance of favour. O'Neill was much gratified, and, soon after his return, to show his attachment, led his followers against the Hebridean Scots, who were thronging into Ulster. The Earl of Sussex observing that, under pretence of serving the queen, he was, in fact, training his men to military manœuvres, represented the dangerous consequence to her majesty. "Fear not," replied she; "tell my friends if he rise, it will turn out to their advantage, for there will be estates for those who want; but let him expect no more from me." The alarm of Sussex still continued; and one of the last acts of his administration, was to take precautions for securing the Northern borders of the Pale. He was replaced by Arnold, an English knight, who proving unequal to the charge he had undertaken was succeeded by Sir Henry Sidney, from whose administration great hopes were entertained. But the daring O'Neill thought not of crouching before

him; on the contrary, he expressed the strongest contempt for those who seemed inclined to make terms of accommodation with him. "A precious earl," cried he, on hearing that M'Carthy, the Irish Lord of Desmond, had exchanged his chieftainry for the earldom of Clanrickard, "a precious earl. I keep a lacquey as good as he! I, too, have made peace at the desire of the queen, but I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. Ulster was theirs, and it shall be mine—with the sword I won it, and by the sword will I maintain it."

To assist Sidney, Sir William St. Leger was stationed in Munster, with the title of Lord President, while Randolph was dispatched to garrison the city of Derry. Here O'Neill attacked him, but was repelled, and was actually planning an arrangement with Sidney, when tidings were brought him that the magazine which had been placed in the church of St. Columb-Kill, had blown up, and that the English were obliged to evacuate the city. Aware of the reverence with which their saint was regarded, O'Neill adroitly encouraged a report that a wolf, issuing from the woods, snatched a burning brand in his mouth, and threw it into the sanctuary which the heretics had desecrated. His followers, incited by this omen, flocked to his standard, and he boldly attacked and plundered the Pale, pronouncing vengeance on all who opposed him.

It seemed but too likely that all Ireland would catch the flame of rebellion from this dangerous insurgent, had not Sidney, with great address, managed to draw down on him a number of native enemies. Attacked and routed from different quarters, he was on the point of throwing himself at the governor's feet, when he was persuaded by one of his followers to seek the assistance of Scotland. His motions,

however, were closely watched by an English officer of the name of Piers, who, practising secretly with Alexander Oge, the Scottish general, gained him over from his unfortunate ally. The earl was invited to a sumptuous feast by Oge; and while the company was heated with wine, a quarrel, purposely provoked with the noble guest, was a pre-concerted signal for the soldiers to rush in, who, having massacred the unhappy Irish, buried their weapons in the bosom of O'Neill. Sidney immediately marched into Tyrone, but all was quiet there, and the natives professed the most zealous attachment to the queen. Turlogh O'Neill, a man of meek and peaceable temper, was named successor to Shane, the murdered earl; he agreed to renounce all sovereignty over the Irish lords, to permit Matthew to enjoy the property unmolested; and, to keep all quiet, the son of Shane O'Neill, who had been given up as a hostage, was retained close prisoner in Dublin Castle. Although one troublesome insurgent had been subdued, many rebels remained to excite Elizabeth's uneasiness. A petty war continued for some time between Ormond and Gerald, earl of Desmond, but was terminated by the defeat of the latter, who was wounded and made prisoner. As he was carried from the field, stretched on a bier, his bearers, with inhuman triumph, exclaimed, "Where is now the great Lord of Desmond?" "Where," retorted the noble prisoner, whose spirit rose superior to his misfortunes, "where but in his proper place, *upon the necks of the Butlers!*" He was no sooner liberated from his captivity, than having in no degree profited by bitter experience, he engaged in a succession of feuds, which ended in his condemnation to a long captivity in the Tower.

In the midst of these disturbances, Sidney, by the queen's order, convened a parliament in 1570, of

which the historian Stanihurst, recorder of Ireland, was, after violent opposition, elected speaker. By this assembly, acts were passed for the erection of free schools, for the improvement of the church, which had suffered from the preferment of unworthy ministers, for the division into shires of those parts of Ireland not yet reduced to English counties, and for the attainder of Shane, the late factious earl of Tyrone. The lands of Ulster were vested in the crown for ever, Turlogh being permitted to hold a portion by English tenure; and it was made high treason to assume, in future, the title of **THE O'NEILL**. These laws effectually promoted the civilization of Ireland. By one of them more than half of Ulster reverted to the queen; by another, the district called "the Annaly" was reduced to an English county, under the name of Longford, while Connaught was divided into six shires, in which Clare was included. Much, indeed, remained to be regulated in the last-mentioned province, where justice was administered by a president only, who exercised a discretionary power; and though Ulster was declared duly forfeited to the crown, the pope still presented to the bishoprics of Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe.

An insurrection, headed this year by Sir James Fitz-Maurice, brother to the Earl of Desmond, assumed a formidable character, as the leaders secretly practised with the King of Spain, who, through his agent, Juan de Mendoza, industriously fomented the spirit of rebellion. It proved, however, less dangerous than was apprehended, and was suppressed, and its leader imprisoned by Sir John Perrot, a man of undaunted bravery and resolution, natural son to Henry the Eighth. Perrot next proceeded to the civilization of Munster, of which province the queen

had appointed him President, and where he so greatly terrified the people by his severity, that they allowed him to enforce strict obedience to the English laws. An appearance of peace and industry spread through the kingdom; and such were the hopes conceived of Perrot's abilities, that Sir Henry Sidney, who requested to be recalled, was allowed to return to England, and his brother, Sir William Fitz-William, appointed governor.

But a troubled spirit unexpectedly started into action. The Earl of Desmond, who had remained captive in the Tower, had been remitted to Dublin as a prisoner of state, when the mayor of the city granted him so much indulgence, that, under pretence of hunting, he effected his escape to his own country, where being enthusiastically received, he declared that he would avenge himself of the severities which he had undergone. The flame of rebellion quickly spread, and was caught in Leinster by the O'Moores and Mac-Murchad, and in Connaught by the sons of Lord Clanrickard, who were provoked by the austerities of Sir Edward Fitton, the governor. For the further encouragement of the insurgents, the following letter was sent to them by the pope:—

“ We exhort all and singular of you *by the bowels of the compassion of God*, that discerning the seasonableness of the opportunity, you will each, according to his power, aid the piety and valour of this noble Geraldine, and fear not a woman who, very long since, is bound with a chain of anathema, and growing more and more vile every day, in her departure from the Lord, and the Lord from her; and that you may do this with the greater alacrity, we grant to all and singular of you, who being contrite and confessing, shall follow your said general, and join yourselves to his army, in maintaining or defending the

ancient faith, or shall forward his purpose by counsel, arms, provisions, or any other means, A PLENARY INDULGENCE FOR ALL THEIR SINS."

However, notwithstanding this impious consecration of the instruments of civil war, the invasion was quelled. Desmond, pursued by the Earls of Essex and Kildare, was obliged to renew his engagements of submission. The sons of Lord Clanrickard, who had rebelled, were also reduced and pardoned, and Bryan Mac-Murchad, effectually won by the kindness of Sir Peter Carew, became so sincerely devoted to him, that, on the death of his beloved patron, the good-natured Irishman expired of sorrow.

Sir William Fitz-William petitioning to be removed, Sydney was a third time sent over as governor, and appointed Sir William Drury to be president of Munster, as Perrot had lately returned to England: yet Drury's first attempt was to reduce the county of Kerry, in which he was strongly opposed by Desmond, who pleaded the privileges granted his family by Edward the Third. At length it was agreed to refer the matter to the governor's decision, and Drury accepted an invitation to visit Desmond in his house at Tralee. On his arrival, attended by only an hundred and twenty men, he was considerably alarmed to perceive a train of seven hundred of Desmond's lawless fellows advancing to meet him. Imagining that he was to be cut to pieces, he ordered his retinue to charge. The Desmonians fled, and Drury was about to pursue, when the countess, advancing with great calmness, explained that her lord had but meant to entertain him with a "hunting," for which the Kerry men were famous, and that they with whom he would combat were the hunters. Drury affected to be satisfied, and proceeded to execute the laws within the liberties of Desmond without control.

To remedy the disproportion between the revenue yielded in Ireland, and the expense of maintaining that country, Sidney imposed a tax in 1577 for the provision of the army and support of the deputy's household. This measure, however, made him so unpopular, that he petitioned the queen to recall him; and, in 1578, Sir William Drury was advanced to the office of Chief Governor. He had not long been appointed, when he was called on to subdue a rebellion headed by Sir James Fitz-Maurice, now released from the prison to which Sir John Perrot had committed him. Fitz-Maurice's appeals for assistance were rejected by France, but eagerly listened to by the King of Spain, and Pope Gregory XIII., who was prevailed on by Saunders and Allan, two Irish Jesuits, to issue a bull, in which he granted the same indulgence to the prelates and nobles who should fall in his cause, as he had vouchsafed to those who died fighting with the Turks; and for the further encouragement of the rebels, a banner solemnly consecrated by Rome, was delivered to this "Defender of the Faith." Sir John and James Desmond at once joined the standard of Fitz-Maurice, but their brother, the earl, though equally disaffected, acted with prudence and reserve, and for the present held off. Disappointed at this, Fitz-Maurice vented his vexation by accusing Sir John of wishing ill to his cause, and of being "one who would purchase his own safety by betraying his associates," and Sir John Fitz-Maurice, stung by the reproach, formed the revolting scheme of effacing his suspicions by an act which should exclude him from all hopes of royal pardon.

Henry Davels, a Devon gentleman who had served in Ireland, had shown the greatest kindness to the family of Desmond, and to Sir John in particular, whom he had often assisted in pecuniary difficulties.

Davels was commissioned by the new lord deputy, to direct the Earl of Desmond and his brothers, whose disaffection was not yet known, to hold their forces in readiness to join him; and, finding Desmond less eager to approve his loyalty than he expected, he applied to Sir John, but his applications being equally lost upon him, he prepared to return to the governor. He proceeded as far as Tralee, secretly pursued by Sir John Desmond, who, having bribed the porters to leave the city gates open, entered the chamber of Davels at the silent hour of midnight, attended by his followers, with their weapons drawn. Startled from his sleep, the old man stared wildly around him; but his eyes resting on the countenance of Sir John, he became instantly composed. "Ah! some foolish midnight brawl," said he; "my son could be in no deeper mischief." The miscreant answered by sheathing his sword in the bosom of his benefactor! His vassals, rushing through the apartments, slaughtered his attendants, only one escaping, who had thrown himself on his master's body, in the futile hope of saving him from the assassin; and this murder was, by the fanatical Saunders, designated "a sweet sacrifice to heaven."

Fitz-Maurice's career of blood drew near a termination. Under pretence of making a pilgrimage to Holy Cross Abbey, he concealed his design of seducing De Burgo to join his standard; and, on that nobleman coldly repulsing him, a violent altercation ensued, in which Fitz-Maurice was slain by one of De Burgo's sons, who was, for this service, created a peer of the realm.

The command of the rebels devolved next on Sir John Desmond, who, having for some time endeavoured to weaken the royal forces by suddenly attacking them, and then as suddenly retreating to

his private haunts, was at last obliged to come to a pitched battle, near the abbey of Monasterneva, in Limerick. The standard (which had been blessed by the pope) was displayed, and Allan, who accompanied the army of Desmond, pronounced a solemn benediction on those of his soldiers who should fall; but the valour of the English prevailed, the rebels were entirely routed, and the body of Allan was found after the battle, amongst numbers of the slain.

The Earl of Desmond, on hearing of this victory, wrote immediately to Sir John Malby, who had commanded the English, to congratulate him on it; but Malby, aware of his real sentiments, answered by summoning him to return to his allegiance; and so stood matters between them, when the death of Drury put an end to Malby's authority. Sir William Pelham succeeded to the office of president of Munster, and having vainly summoned Desmond to surrender, proclaimed that haughty nobleman a traitor. Pelham, after a short administration, was succeeded by Lord Grey, who, to bring the Irish war to a conclusion, at once pursued the rebel into some of his native fastnesses, and also vigorously attacked a fort built by Desmond's Spanish allies, near Smerwick, in the county of Kerry. It was commanded by an Italian of the name of San-Giuseppe, who was twice summoned to surrender, but boldly answered that he would hold the post which he had gained. However, on the batteries of Lord Grey beginning to play upon it, perceiving no additional succours coming to them from Spain, and none of the disaffected Irish appearing in the field, the commander, in a few days, contrary to the advice of his officers, determined to capitulate. But Grey now replied with austerity that "he served against traitors, and disdained to grant any terms

to them or their abettors." The garrison fatally surrendered at discretion, and that mercy for which they sued was rigidly denied them. When they were disarmed, an English company was sent into the fort, and the rebels found that they were designed for execution by martial law. The Italian general and some officers, were made prisoners of war, but the garrison was butchered in cold blood; and it is not without pain that the accomplished Sir Walter Raleigh is found to be the person to whom such a service was committed.

Repeated complaints having been made to the queen of Lord Grey's severity, he was superseded, in 1582, by Sir Henry Wallop, and Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, who were appointed lords justices. Desmond, meanwhile, who had begun the war without any preconcerted plan, being reduced to the most abject distress, was obliged to conceal himself in woods and fastnesses, from which he occasionally harassed the enemy. He had made frequent proposals of surrender, which being still refused, he was driven from one retreat to another, frequently obliged to hide himself in bogs and thickets, while the last captain of his gallowglasses lost his life in endeavouring to support his master's. In his extreme distress, a few kerns, venturing to seize on some cattle for his subsistence, were pursued by the owners, who, accompanied by a party of English soldiers, followed them to rescue the prey. In a grove a little way down the valley, they saw a hut with a light in it, which they cautiously approached, expecting to find it a haunt of the rebels; but on entering it, they discovered only one solitary inmate, an old man of venerable appearance, who was languidly stretched before the fire. Assailed and wounded by Kelly, the leader of the party, he

faintly exclaimed—"Spare me! I am the unhappy Earl of Desmond!" Kelly instantly struck off his head, which was sent to the queen, and by her command impaled on London bridge.

Of those who had principally instigated or assisted the earl in this rebellion, the Jesuit Saunders alone survived him; but he did not survive him long: hiding his dishonoured head in a miserable hut, he perished of want and starvation. No man knew the moment of his death; but when his remains were discovered, they had been already mangled by beasts of prey. Thus the curse of heaven seemed to light upon an insurrection over which the Church of Rome would have spread "the odour of sanctity," and which ended in the extirpation of a family that for four centuries had flourished in barbarous splendour, defying the attempts of England to reduce it to submission.

In 1584, the government of the kingdom was entrusted to Sir John Perrot, whose energy and impartiality made him respected by all parties; the Irish chieftains crowded round him with zealous professions of attachment; and after he had divided the unreformed parts of Ulster into the counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Colerain, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, he wrote to the queen, stating the anxiety of the country in general for the benefits of the English law, and petitioning for a sufficient sum of money to carry on some extensive improvements which he contemplated; but he did not receive the support which was necessary: his request met with a refusal, to which Elizabeth seems to have been urged by her counsellors, influenced by that illiberal jealousy which, blinding them to their own interest, as well as that of their unhappy colony, reconciled the English for so many centuries to the

distractions and miseries of Ireland. The effect of mild and judicious treatment in advancing the progress of civilization, was shown under the administration of Sir John Perrot, whose boast it was, that he could prevail on the old Irish leaders, not only to become peaceable subjects, but to appear publicly in the English garb, and to make some awkward attempts to accommodate themselves to the manners of his court. At a parliament held by him in 1585, amongst the spiritual lords sat the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, two sees which were never presented to by Queen Elizabeth; and amongst the temporal peers, was old Turlogh, of Tyrone, who, encumbered in his age with his new-fashioned habiliments, thus expressed his discontent to Perrot:—"Prithee, my lord, let my chaplain attend me in his Irish mantle; thus shall your English rabble be diverted from my uncouth figure, and laugh at him!"

The deputy was soon called into Ulster, by a descent of the Scots, whom he defeated, causing their captain, who had formerly sworn allegiance to England, to be executed as a traitor. The victor returned in triumph to Dublin, attended by Sorleboy, father to the Scottish leader, when an Englishman, with a degree of brutality, almost incredible, taunted the aged chief upon his son's misfortune, pointing exultingly to his head, which had been fixed upon a pole: the brave old Scot viewed the spectacle for a few minutes, with an unaltered countenance, and then turning to his insulter, replied sternly—"My son hath many heads!"

By the attainder of the Earl of Desmond and his family, the queen was at liberty to pursue a scheme which she had some time since formed, of peopling Munster with English. Estates were offered to colonists, at two or three pence per acre, the ren

to commence three years after taking possession, and for the next three, only half of it being demanded. Encouraged by such favourable terms, a number of gentlemen of distinction took land there, amongst whom were Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Walter Raleigh.

One of the most powerful of the Irish lords was Hugh O'Neill, son to the late Baron of Dungannon. But being little respected by his sept, on account of his illegitimacy, he had entered into the English service, and learned to unite the English polish of manner to the fierce bravery of his tribe. He behaved with obsequious flattery towards the queen, affecting the warmest zeal for her service, and even going so far as to advise the total suppression of the name of O'Neill, as a preliminary step towards introducing the blessings of English civilization into Ulster. Deceived by his artifice, Elizabeth granted him the earldom of Tyrone, stipulating that he was not to claim any authority over the Irish lords, and that the chieftaincy was to be continued to Turlogh.

Tidings were suddenly brought to the council in Dublin, that O'Donnell, the lord of Tyrconnel, had bid defiance to the English government, and refused to admit a sheriff into his district ; the members were thrown into the utmost perplexity—on the one hand, desiring to chastise his insolence ; and on the other, fearing to kindle a war for which they were not prepared ; when Perrot, in a kind of triumph over their embarrassment, offered to bring O'Donnell and his son before them, without charge or hazard to the state, a proposal which, contrary to his usual uprightness, he proceeded to accomplish in a manner at once impolitic and dishonourable. A Dublin merchant was instructed by him to load a ship with Spanish wines, and proceed into the county of Done-

gal; he was there to offer his wines for sale, to show all possible courtesy to the natives, feasting them on board his ship; and if the old chieftain, or his son, should come on board, to tempt them to become intoxicated, when he was to secure them under the hatches, and convey them to Dublin. The pretended Spanish merchant executed his commission successfully: the inhabitants crowded to purchase his wines, and amongst them came the eldest son of O'Donnell, with two companions; tempted to drink deeply, they soon became wholly inebriated, and when they recovered from the effects of their revelry, found, to their consternation, that they had been made prisoners: they were deposited in Dublin castle, and Perrot exulted in the easiness with which he had procured hostages for the submission of O'Donnell.

But in a little time, mortified in various instances by the neglect of the queen, and having become unpopular amongst the English settlers, whose oppressions he resolutely opposed, the governor petitioned to be recalled. "I can please your Majesty's Irish subjects," he wrote, "better than the English, who will, I fear, learn the Irish customs sooner than the Jews did those of the heathen." He delivered the sword of state to Sir William Fitz-William, and embarked, amidst the lamentations of the natives—old Turlogh, of Tirowen, bathed in tears, accompanying him to the water side.

On the defeat of the Armada, in 1588, seven of its vessels were driven on the north and north-west coasts of Ireland, where the Spaniards were warmly received by the Roman Catholics, who had been lately directed by Rome to look up to Philip, king of Spain, as the person who was to restore their religion. O'Neill privately entered into a treaty with the commander, Antonio de Leyva, whilst O'Ruarc openly

besought him to stay and assist against Elizabeth. De Loyva excused himself from complying with the desires of the chieftains for the present, but promised that he would speedily return with succours from his royal master; he set sail, and while yet in sight of the Irish shore, his ship foundered, and the whole of his crew perished. O'Ruarc; fled to Scotland, where he was delivered to Elizabeth, and executed. O'Neill fared better; his adversaries gladly seized this opportunity of accusing him to the queen, and exposing his treaty with her enemies; but he hastened to London, and justified himself to her majesty, imputing the accusation to the effect of malice, which could not forgive his having advised the extinction of the name of O'Neill.

The young Hugh O'Donnell, meanwhile, and Arthur, a youth of the family of O'Neill, who had been captured by the stratagems of Perrot, effected their escape, and being hotly pursued, fled for protection to some Irish septs near Dublin, where they gained a miserable retreat in the dreary season of the year. But here, their friends terrified by the menaces of the royal troops, left them for some days to struggle with the miseries of cold and hunger; and when they at last ventured to their relief, found the young O'Neill expiring with famine, and Hugh O'Donnell deprived of the use of his limbs by the severity of cold, lamenting over his companion; he was with difficulty restored, and regained his country with an implacable detestation of the English power, which he was soon after enabled to testify, being invested, on his father's resignation, with the chieftaincy of O'Donnell.

The intemperate conduct of Fitz-William increased the spirit of disaffection already kindled in Ulster. The entrance of the officers of justice was opposed; and on the lord deputy intimating to Macguire, the

chieftain of Fermanagh, that he intended to send a sheriff into his district, Macguire answered with affected simplicity, "Your sheriff shall be welcome, but let me know his *eric*, that if my people should cut off his head, I may levy it on the county !"

But with the exception of Ulster, a short interval of tranquillity blessed the land, during which period was laid the foundation of an Irish university. The attempts which had been made to accomplish that laudable object, in the reigns of the Second, Third, and Fourth Edwards, had been successfully frustrated by the troubles of the times, which called off public attention from the peaceful pursuits of literature. That which had been begun by Archbishop Bricknor, after struggling for about forty years, had been crushed. Sir John Perrot had purposed renewing the effort, but tendered his resignation before he had begun his college. The accomplishment of this desirable project was reserved for Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, who obtained from the mayor and citizens a grant of the site of the monastery of All Hallows, which the queen confirmed by royal charter ; and on the 9th of Jan., 1593, the first students were admitted into "THE COLLEGE OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY, OF QUEEN ELIZABETH."

The spirit of discontent amongst the northern chieftains daily increased. Tyrconnel, by marrying a daughter of Tyrone, allied himself more firmly than ever to the interest of that earl, who, on the death of Turlogh, forgetting his own former proposals, openly assumed the title of THE O'NEILL. To check these disturbances by the strong hand of power, Sir William Russell was sent over, in 1595, as deputy, accompanied by Sir John Norris, an officer of distinguished reputation, who was attended by a formidable army. With the intermission of a temporary truce,

the violences of O'Neill continued until the approach of winter, when finding himself opposed by an able general, and not assisted, as he had hoped, by the king of Spain, he determined on once more pretending submission to the queen. Elizabeth, pleased at any prospect of concluding a war of which she was weary, empowered Norris to pardon all rebels who should, with due penitence, seek her clemency; and at a congress held at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, Tirowen implored the royal pardon, "upon the knees of his heart," as he expressed it, and confirmed his sincerity by solemn imprecations.

It was not long before he regretted this act, and renewed hostilities against Norris, who at the instance of Essex, was superseded in his command by Lord Burgh, and was so deeply mortified at this ungrateful requital of his services, that he died of a broken heart.

At the request of Tyrone, a truce of one month was agreed on, after which the war was renewed with increased violence, the advantage being on the side of the Irish, the deputy resolved to march to Dunganon a town in the county of Tyrone which was the chief seat of the rebels; but the sudden death of this active governor caused all military operations to be relaxed. The Earl of Kildare, who succeeded to the command of the army, did not long survive Lord Burgh, for the two foster brothers of the Earl had been killed in rescuing him from the enemy, and "he pined with affliction for their loss, and died lamenting their fall."

The civil government was now committed to Archbishop Loftus and Sir Robert Gardiner. The military command devolved upon the Earl of Ormond, who detached Sir Henry Bagnal to support the garrison of Armagh and the Blackwater; and, by these vigorous

preparations, Tyrone once more made a submission, which he soon proved to be merely nominal, by attacking the fort of Blackwater in 1598, where he gained a complete victory, and slew Sir Henry Bagnal.

The illustrious O'Neill was every where extolled, and encouraged by his success, the disaffected rose in various quarters. O'Moore, who had regained possession of Leix, his ancient patrimony, led some of his followers into Munster to raise an insurrection, and was but too successful in inducing many English lords to unite with the Irish clans against the queen. Those Geraldines, who were known by the titles of THE WHITE KNIGHT and THE KNIGHT OF THE VALLEY, joined the rebellion; and to give their party greater popularity, James, nephew to the late unhappy Lord Gerald, was, by the agents of Tyrone, solemnly invested with the title of Earl of Desmond, which, as well as the lands he now hoped to recover, he agreed to hold in vassalage from THE O'NEILL.

A general panic spread through the small party which persevered in its allegiance, from a report that Philip of Spain, to whom Tyrone had applied for assistance, was about to despatch an army of 18,000 men to Ireland. The Queen and council determining, therefore, to send over an experienced general, with an army sufficient to subdue the wide-spread confederacy, appointed the Earl of Essex lord lieutenant, with more than usual powers, and furnished him with 20,000 men, the largest force which had yet been sent to Ireland.

Disregarding the Queen's directions on several points, Essex began his administration in such a manner as to create a suspicion that his object was to strengthen his own influence. Though his commands were to strike at the northern rebels, he marched to the south, and on his return had the mortification of

finding that 600 of the queen's troops had in his absence been subdued by O'Byrne, the Wicklow chieftain. This was followed by another defeat of the royal army at Beleek, where Sir Conyers Clifford, the English general, fell by the hand of O'Ruarc. The soldiers of Lord Essex showed the strongest aversion to march into a country where they were liable at every step to be surprised by the enemy, whilst the Irish soldiers daily deserted to their countrymen. The lord lieutenant wrote a melancholy statement of affairs to England, petitioning for a reinforcement of his army, which was now reduced to 4,000 men.

With his diminished force he marched against Tyrone; but that wily chieftain, aware that the most effectual way of harassing his opponents was by protracting the war, proposed an interview with him. The earl after some hesitation agreed, and a ford near a considerable town in Louth was the place appointed for the conference. While Lord Essex, with the stateliness of a superior, stopped on the bank, the chieftain plunged into the river, as if impatient to cast himself at the feet of the youthful commander. For a long time this interview was private, when it is supposed that O'Neill flattered the ambition of Essex, and promised on certain conditions to make him the greatest lord of the day. Witnesses were then called, and the conference began in due form. After many preliminaries, Tyrone promised that the northerns should return to their allegiance, on condition that the queen should grant them a general amnesty, a free exercise of their religion, restoration of their laws, and an exemption from English government; Essex promised to transmit these demands to Elizabeth, and a week's truce was agreed on.

The idea of making concessions to an enemy who

had so often proved faithless, was extremely mortifying to the queen, and as the earl's fearless disposition could not justify her attributing his conduct to want of spirit, she apprehended that he had formed some scheme which he had not yet unravelled. Impressed with that idea, she addressed a letter to him, in which she spoke of his misconduct of the war in terms of resentment and indignation; and Essex, bursting into the most extravagant menaces of revenge on the enemies who had prepossessed his royal mistress against him, was with difficulty prevented from marching to England at the head of his army to take vengeance upon them. The temperate councils of his friends, however, prevailed, and he soon departed for London, with only a few gentlemen in his train.

Scarcely had he returned to England, when fresh supplies were sent to O'Neill from Spain, accompanied by Don Matthew Oviedo, a Spanish ecclesiastic, on whom the pope had conferred the title of archbishop of Dublin, and who, as a token of the paternal affection and extraordinary reverence of the pontiff for "the prince of Ulster," as he styled O'Neill, presented him with a hallowed plume, which the holy father gravely declared to be the feather of a PHŒNIX.

Elated by this flattering mark of distinction, O'Neill now declared himself in form, **THE CHAMPION OF THE HOLY FAITH**, in which character he soon recommenced hostilities, publishing a manifesto, calling on all Ireland to join him "to deliver this poor kingdom from the infection of heresy;" and "praying the Almighty God to move their flinty hearts, not to prefer their own private ease before the commodity and profit of their country.'

In 1600, the impetuous Essex was succeeded by Lord Mountjoy as lord lieutenant. At the same time Sir George Carew was appointed president of Mun-

ster, and on those governors devolved the difficult task of opposing active resistance to the rebels with a dispirited and shattered army. The appointment of Mountjoy was at first very agreeable to Tyrone and his associates, who mistook the refinement of his manners for effeminacy, and exulted in declaring that "*he would lose the season of action while his breakfast was a preparing* ; but they were soon convinced that they had entirely mistaken his character. Mountjoy having sent detachments into different quarters of the kingdom, marched to the encampment of O'Neill, between Newry and Armagh. After some resistance, he drove him into the woods, and at the same time was cheered by the intelligence that Sir Henry Docwra, who had been sent over to his assistance, had made good his landing, and was fortifying Derry. On the approach of winter, the deputy again forced O'Neill from his entrenchments, which he destroyed. The rebel earl made a last effort to oppose him at Carlingford, in the county of Louth, where he was repelled with considerable loss, and his reputation amongst his countrymen entirely overthrown.

The exertions of Carew in Munster had, meanwhile, been unceasing. Taking advantage of the different views and interests of the rebel leaders, he soon succeeded in winning them all back to their allegiance, except James Fitz-Thomas, the titular earl of Desmond. The castle of the knight of the Valley was taken by the president, as well as that of the Lord of Lixnawe in Kerry, who died of grief in consequence. Fitz-Thomas was now reduced to the same state with that of the late unfortunate Lord of Desmond—the condition of a fugitive, stealing from one retreat to another. The president had received various promises that he should be delivered up to him, but these were never fulfilled ; for such was the gene-

ral affection for this unhappy lord, that no one could be found to engage in an attempt so odious ; and Carew had begun to despair of capturing him, when his retreat was accidentally discovered by some soldiers of Lord Barry, who pursued a party of robbers into a wood where Fitz-Thomas lay concealed with a few companions. At their approach he started from the miserable meal prepared for him, and his affectionate followers, at their own risk, favoured his escape. A mantle, however, which he left behind, discovered its owner ; the soldiers pursued, but possibly with no sincere desire to apprehend him, and suffered him to take shelter in the lands of the White Knight ; but Barry, who was the enemy of that chieftain, and glad of an opportunity of complaint against him, hastened to the president, claimed the whole merit of the attempt to seize Fitz-Thomas, and imputed his disappointment to the treachery of the neighbouring lord. The White Knight, who had submitted to government, received a summons to attend the president, who informed him that as he stood engaged for all his followers, his life and fortune must answer for their default. Stung with this unmerited reproach, he vowed to exert his utmost endeavours to seize the titular earl. He was directed by some of his followers to a cave in which the miserable fugitive was found, disarmed without resistance, and delivered bound to the lord president. That the queen might be entitled to his estate without an act of parliament, he was immediately tried, convicted, and condemned for treason. But as his brother John, or some other idol of his sept might be encouraged on his death to assume the title of Desmond, his life was spared, and Carew recommended that he should be held confined in the Tower of London.

The President, meanwhile, received intelligence

that a large body of Spaniards was daily expected to land at Cork, and having got intimation that Florence Mac Carthy, the Irish chief of Desmond, was secretly tampering with them, he resolved to send him to England along with the titular earl. He also possessed himself of the persons of some other leaders of the same sept, one of whom fully justified the precaution by the frankness with which he uttered his rebellious sentiments. He had begun by making loud and zealous professions of adhering to government, when, on Carew suddenly asking him, "But what if the Spaniards should arrive?" he answered, "In that case let not your lordship confide in me; no, nor in any of those lords who seem most devoted to your service."

With hopes once more raised by the prospect of assistance from Spain, O'Neill dispatched his emissaries in all directions, encouraged by a flattering letter from the pope, expressive of great joy at the success of those who fought "for the inheritance of their fathers, for the preservation of the truth, and the maintenance of the unity of the one catholic and apostolic faith, out of which is no salvation."

A considerable fleet from Spain soon appeared off the harbour of Cork, whither Mountjoy immediately marched. Part of the Spanish forces was driven by a storm into Baltimore on the south coast of the county of Cork; the main body, under Don Juan D'Aguila, entered Kinsale, and from thence issued a notification to all the insurgents to join them. The inhabitants of Munster were so reluctant to engage in fresh hostilities, that some of them sent to Carew a voluntary assurance of their loyalty, whilst others seemed to await the issue of the impending struggle. On the arrival, however, of six additional French ships laden with ammunition, the

Irisn and several of the English race in Kerry and Desmond threw off marks of submission, and openly declared for King Philip.

The Spanish garrison in Kinsale was besieged by Mountjoy ; but, weakened by the toils of a winter campaign, the English were dying at their posts, and had the town been held but a little longer, the besiegers would have been exhausted. This was foreseen by Tyrone, who was posted at about five miles' distance, but Don Juan, captivated with the brilliant prospect of victory, prevailed on the earl to march against the English forces. Mountjoy, having entrusted the conduct of the siege to Sir George Carew, hastened to meet O'Neill, put his Irish troops to flight, defeated some of his Spanish allies, and made Occampo, one of their generals, prisoner. On this, Don Juan, conceiving himself betrayed by men who could so easily be forced to fly, capitulated. Kinsale and all the posts held by the Spaniards were ceded to the lord lieutenant, and these troubles some foreigners were shortly afterwards obliged to quit the kingdom.

Reduced to the lowest state of distress, O'Neill made overtures of accommodation, to which Mountjoy, dreading another war, listened favourably, and having had private intelligence of the death of the queen, he was determined to cut off all delays and come to an immediate accommodation. The chieftain attended the deputy to Mellifont, in the county of Louth, where he was received with the dignity befitting the representative of an offended sovereign. He fell on his knees and petitioned for mercy, subscribed his submission in the humblest terms, entreated to be restored to his earldom and the state of a subject, and for ever renounced the name and territory of O'Neill. This done, the lord deputy,

on the part of the queen, promised him a full pardon "with restoration to his blood and honours."

Lord Mountjoy proceeded to Dublin, accompanied by the rebel earl, who, on hearing of the death of Elizabeth, burst into a flood of tears, caused, as he pretended, by sorrow for the loss of a princess who had shown him so much clemency; but which, it was apparent, proceeded from regret at his premature concessions, when a few days' perseverance might have enabled him to pursue the war with advantage, or have made a merit of his submission to his new sovereign. As it was impossible to recede, he renewed his homage to her successor, and no one of consequence now remained in arms against the English government, which had, at length, after a perpetual struggle of four centuries and a-half, reduced the whole island to obedience.

In the history of Ireland two extraordinary circumstances cannot but strike the reader. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, the aristocracy are seen coming forward as one man proclaiming him head of the church, and binding themselves to be forever separated from Rome. Again, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the laity are every where found frequenting the parish churches, for the fact of the reformation having been generally received in Ireland by the nobles, priests, and people, is fully proved; bishops and ministers of Rome outwardly conformed, and substituted the English common prayer for their *missals* (or prayer-books), and the English service for the Latin mass; yet, after thirty years of continued opposition to the efforts which Rome unceasingly made to reclaim them, the whole body of the people, at the instigation of the Jesuits, Turned to the Romish faith, having imbibed the

most rancorous hatred to England and the reformed religion. How can this be accounted for? Two acts of fatal tendency were passed by the English parliament—one in the twenty-eighth year of Henry the Eighth, directing, 'that instruction should be given in *the English tongue*; and another under the administration of Elizabeth, pushing the matter still further, by ordering, that where the English language was not understood the common prayer should be said *in Latin*. No surer means could have been taken to stop the progress of the reformation, in a country where the early prejudices of the people were thus insulted, and every avenue to light and knowledge closed up by the cruel ordinances which deprived them of instruction in their native tongue, and substituted either the *hateful* English, or *unintelligible* Latin. One generation of professing Protestants passed away, and another sprang up without any knowledge at all, impressed only with deep hatred of that country which had insulted the beloved language of their forefathers.

With those causes was united another not less influential: Henry's plunder of the Irish clergy by the seizure of their abbey lands, and transfer of their property to the English lords, was quickly imitated by the Irish lords and English settlers. The benefices became so impoverished that they were no longer able to support the incumbents, and, therefore, fell into the hands of ministers of an underling race, who, when not notoriously abandoned, as was too often the case, were, at least, barbarously ignorant. "All the Irish priests which now enjoy the church livings," says Spenser, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, "are, in a manner, mere laymen, and follow all kinds of husbandry, and other worldly affairs; they neither read the Scriptures, nor preach,

nor administer the communion; and, if the poor people look for instruction to their brethren of Rome, they look to those of whom not one knoweth any grounds of religion or any article of his faith, but can, perhaps, say a *paternoster* or an *ave maria*, so blindly and brutally are they ignorant.

Amongst a people labouring under such disadvantages, was it surprising that those seditions which are read of in the reign of Elizabeth should be of perpetual recurrence?

CHAPTER XV.

JAMES I.—CHARLES I.

1605 TO 1649.

HITHERTO, the hostilities which had disturbed the peace of Ireland, since the invasion of Henry the Second, were either the petty broils of local septs, or the struggles of a people not entirely conquered, to throw off the yoke of their invaders. Towards the conclusion of the contest, which terminated in the final establishment of the English power, religious prejudices had been called in to the aid of national feelings. Many of the leaders of the Irish were profoundly ignorant on the subject of religion. Their celebrated champion, Desmond, openly confessed this to be the case with him; and when the Earl of Tyrone alleged pretended zeal for the faith, as a motive of his rebellion, his real principles were so well understood, that his hypocrisy was treated with contempt and ridicule: "Hang thee!" said the Earl of Essex, and justly, "thou talk of a free

exercise of religion! thou carest as much for religion as my horse!" But they who considered the advancement of the faith with indifference, gladly seized hold of that object as a pretext for a line of conduct which advanced their private views of ambition or revenge; and they were enabled thus to serve their own purposes more effectually, from the rancour infused into the public mind by the popish emissaries, who taught that "whilst people were unable to resist, heaven had pardoned their allegiance to an excommunicated sovereign, but that when the faith required their resistance it was impious to refuse it.

Thus incited, the southern counties, in the beginning of James's reign, made an attempt to restore the Roman Catholic worship in its full splendour, and were led by fanaticism to become so turbulent as to require the presence of Lord Mountjoy to reduce them to obedience. The gates of Waterford were shut against him, the citizens pleading that the charter of King John exempted them from quartering soldiers. Two ecclesiastics, each dressed according to the habit of his order, in a long gown and cornered cap, and bearing a crucifix in his hand, presented themselves before the lord deputy; and it was announced by these holy fathers, that "the pious citizens of Waterford declared, that they could not conscientiously obey any prince who persecuted the catholic faith," and the privilege of their charter was again pleaded. Mountjoy immediately threatened, that he would "*draw the sword of King James to cut the charter of King John to pieces, level their city with the ground, and strew it with salt.*" Upon this he was admitted, the terrified inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to James, solemnly renouncing foreign jurisdiction, and the

townsmen of Cashel, Clonmel, and Limerick, who



had declared for the free exercise of popery followed their example.

The king now anxiously turned his mind to the civilization of Ireland, and, as a preliminary step, passed, in 1604, an act of oblivion, and indemnity of all offences, committed before his accession. Mountjoy, who had been constituted lord lieutenant, returned to England, appointing Sir George Carew his deputy, who, having restored public peace, was commissioned to restore public justice. "Sessions of justices" were established in Connaught, and revived in Munster, after a discontinuance of two hundred years. The ancient customs of tanistry and gavel-

kind were abolished; leases of estates were granted according to the English law, and the trading towns and corporations, surrendering their old charters, accepted new ones, with such regulations as tended to keep them in subjection to the crown.

The following year the king ventured on a bolder step. Considering that the allegiance of the country could not be relied on while those who preached disaffection were permitted to reside there, he published a proclamation, ordering the departure of all the Jesuits and popish clergy who did not consent to abide by the laws of England. This measure violently exasperated the delinquents; but the deputy and council resolving to be steady, ordered the magistrates and chief citizens of Dublin to attend the established churches, and on their refusal committed them to prison. The inhabitants of the Pale taking the alarm, clamoured for religious toleration; and a letter dropped in the chamber of the privy council, intimated rebellious intention on the part of Tyrone and Tyrconnel; but those lords, terrified at finding that it had fallen into the hands of government, fled from the country, leaving their vast possessions at the king's disposal.

In 1608, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, the young chieftain of Innishowen, in the north-east of Donegal, determined, in the pride of youth, to bid defiance to government, and, for that purpose, pretended to cultivate the friendship of Hart, an English officer who commanded the fort of Culmore, near Derry. Deceived by his specious manners, Hart accepted an invitation to a banquet at his house, when a set of lawless gallowglasses burst into the room and held their weapons at his throat, while his treacherous host sternly demanded that he should resign the fort. Nowise terrified by his dreadful situation,

the English commander calmly replied, that he would submit to death rather than betray his trust ; and he was about to die, when the wives of Hart and O'Dogherty rushed into the room and prevented the barbarous execution. But the wife of Hart, in her anxiety for his life, losing her regard for his honour, which he had held dearer, was prevailed on to attend O'Dogherty to Culmore, where, by a fictitious tale, she obtained admittance for him and his ruffian followers, who inhumanly massacred the garrison amongst whom was her own brother, and then proceeding to Derry, sacked and burned it. O'Dogherty's triumph was, however, short, for General Wingfield, marshal of the English army, was sent with a considerable body of men against him. The daring rebel boldly took the field, but an accidental shot put an end at once to his life and insurrection.

By various conspiracies and rebellions, Tyrconnel, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh having been forfeited to the crown, James resolved to dispose of this territory in such a manner as might introduce peace and cultivation into the province ; and in his schemes for this purpose, he was wisely and ably assisted by Sir Arthur Chichester. The district was allotted to three classes of persons. *New undertakers* from Great Britain ; *servitors*, *i. e.* men who had served in Ireland, either in civil or military capacity ; and *old Irish chieftains*, or *inhabitants*. Taught by experience, that while the English and Irish were permitted to dwell together, the English became degenerated, while the Irish learned only to envy their superior comforts and avail themselves of a free access to their houses to steal their goods, James determined to plant them in different quarters ; and aware that another mistake had been made

in permitting the original English settlers to locate themselves in the open districts, whilst the natives, chased by them into woods and fastnesses, boldly bid defiance to the king's authority, the Irish were now assigned the open parts of the country, where they lay under the immediate inspection of their neighbours. To the British adventurers were allotted the places of the greatest strength; and to the servitors those of most danger, on which account they were permitted to have additional guards. As the enormous tracts which had been granted, had enabled the great lords to keep a number of followers, which empowered them to bid defiance to the crown, the land was now divided into three moderate proportions—one of 2000 English acres, the next of 1500, and the last of 1000. To defend themselves against the encroachments of the Irish, the proprietors of the first class were obliged to build a castle with a *bawn*, or walled court-yard; those of the second, to build a house, with a walled court-yard; and of the third, to enclose a bawn. The corporation of London engaged largely in this speculation, its members pledging themselves to spend £20,000 on the plantation, and build the cities of Derry and Coleraine, stipulating only for such privileges as might make these settlements convenient and respectable. To take charge of this infant plantation, the order of BARONETS, an hereditary dignity, was instituted by King James; and each baronet on obtaining his patent, was required to pay into the exchequer what would maintain thirty men in Ulster, for three years, at eight pence per day.

The regulation of the church in that province, was next taken into consideration. The northern bishoprics had been so greatly embarrassed by the usurpation of the Irish lords, that they scarcely afforded a

competent provision for men of worth and learning. The situation of the parochial clergy was still more deplorable: the churches had fallen into ruin; the impoverished benefices had been filled with persons unfit to hold them; and, except in the great towns or Ulster, there had not been divine service in any parish church for many years. The usurped see (or bishop's) lands were now restored—glebes were assigned to different parishes—tithes were commanded to be duly paid, and free schools were endowed for the instruction of the rising generation. The happy effects of this scheme were not immediately perceived, for, like all other plans of reformation, various abuses crept into it, but it was the means of introducing a number of loyal and industrious inhabitants into the northern counties, and of promoting considerable improvements in the towns which they erected.

A spirit of disaffection still continuing amongst the lords of the Pale, the deputy judged it advisable to assemble a parliament, in which the old English settlers, new British adventurers, and native Irish, should meet together to deliberate upon measures for the public welfare. As seven years had elapsed since the last parliament had been summoned, the recusant lords were alarmed at a measure so unusual, and would fain have been excused from attending; but, unable to absent themselves, they entered in complete armour, a measure which they pretended to be for their security, but which was, in reality, to show determined defiance. A violent altercation took place as to the election of a speaker; Sir John Everard being candidate on the part of the recusants, Sir John Davis on that of the crown. Everard was declared by his party duly elected. The partizans of Davis exclaimed against this, and,

endeavouring to force their candidate into the speaker's chair, seated him in Everard's lap! Sir Arthur Chichester having, in vain, attempted to quell the tumult, was obliged to prorogue parliament; a strong representation of their grievances was sent to the king by the disaffected lords, to which James, at first listened with so much indulgence as to induce Chichester to hasten to his royal master, and lay before him the true state of affairs. The king granted an impartial hearing to both sides of the question, but, after a strict examination into the memorial of the recusant lords, found their complaints to be unsubstantiated, and informed them that he pardoned their rude and disorderly conduct only on condition that their future behaviour should not make him repent his clemency.

In 1614, parliament assembled peaceably, and, owing to the moderate conduct of Chichester on one hand, and of Everard on the other, all obstacles to public business were got over. Several statutes, formerly framed against the native Irish, were repealed; an act of oblivion of all past offences was proclaimed; and the proceedings were closed by a bill granting a subsidy to the king. It was found that many parts of Leinster, as Longford, Westmeath, and the maritime tract from Dublin to Waterford, had belonged to settlers who, in the disorders of the country, had been expelled by the natives; their property was, therefore, vested in the crown as the land of absentees, whilst other adjacent districts had been forfeited by rebellion. In these districts James resolved to make a plantation, similar to that which he had formed in Ulster, and the accomplishment of this design was the last act of Chichester's government. He was created baron of Belfast, recalled in 1616, and succeeded by Sir Oliver St. John, who soon made

himself unpopular by enforcing the penal law with more vigour than his predecessor had done, and opposing the usurpation of church lands, by some leading members of the state. The king was petitioned to remove him, and Lord Falkland was appointed in his stead in 1622.

Lord Falkland found himself in an unpleasant situation, without a military force sufficient to awe a faction, which was at once rendered confident by the dismissal of St. John, and, irritated by an inquiry into titles which rendered the property of every man insecure, and by the abuses which were practised, to invalidate ancient claims. But all his representations were vain; the king's finances were very low, and the charge of the government in Ireland far exceeded the Irish revenue. To supply this deficiency, many impracticable schemes were proposed for raising supplies. Considerable alarm was given by the discovery, that some legal formalities had been omitted in enrolling patents; the whole province of Connaught was affected by this defective state of titles, and adjudged to be still vested in the crown. James listened favourably to a proposal for appropriating it to an extensive plantation: and although every thing could be proved to have been fair on the part of the proprietors, they judged it to be more prudent to consult the necessities of the king than rely on his justice; they, therefore, offered to purchase a confirmation of these grants, and were about to conclude a treaty with James, when his death, in 1625 prevented him from seeing it carried into effect.

On the accession of Charles I, who was supposed to favour the cause of Romanism, the professors of that religion, hoping for further indulgence, celebrated their worship openly: churches were seized for their service—new friaries erected, and their ec-

clesiastical jurisdiction severely executed. A party called Puritans, who particularly detested popery, had daily gained ground at court, and they represented the state of Ireland to be so dangerous as to require a large increase of the military establishment. The revenue being unequal to defray the expense of this measure, the king condescended to obtain a contribution from his Irish Roman Catholic subjects, by promising a number of concessions known by the name of **THE GRACES**. These were principally a repeal of the penal statutes; a grant to the inhabitants of Connaught of a confirmation of their patents; and for a further security to all proprietors, a promise that their estates should be confirmed to them, by the *next parliament* in Ireland, in which also an act was to be passed for a general pardon.

The recusants were highly satisfied with these concessions, and the first supply was paid to Charles but they soon began to doubt his sincerity, from his evincing a strong disinclination to assemble the parliament by which those important favours were to be conferred. Their discontent was increased by the Jesuits, who now returned in great numbers into the kingdom, and who, having been educated abroad, acted under the direction of the pope, and were bound by oath to persecute heretics without compassion and to labour for the increase of his power. The period for the second payment of the contribution to the king approached, but so great a disinclination towards it was evinced by the Roman Catholic party, that Charles found it necessary, in 1632, to send over Lord Wentworth as governor, a man of great ability and devoted attachment to his royal master, but too strongly tinctured with prejudice against Ireland, which induced him frequently to adopt measures of unnecessary severity.

He had, however, a difficult part to play. The king desired the promised supply, the recusants clamoured for the fulfilment of the conditions on which it had been promised. Wentworth's object was to obtain the former, without granting the latter; for this purpose he adroitly represented to the Protestants, that till a sum sufficient to make him independent of the Roman Catholics were granted, he could not refuse their requests. To the Roman Catholics he averred, that if something were not done before the expiration of the voluntary contribution, the fines on absentees from the weekly worship, must be enforced. A parliament was assembled; it voted the supply, and the deputy eluded the graces.

He next turned his attention to the state of the Established Church, which was deplorable. It was hated almost equally by the Roman Catholics and by the Scottish Presbyterians, who, outrageously zealous for their own discipline and worship, treated the rites of the Establishment with provoking contempt. Many cathedrals had been destroyed, the parish churches had fallen into total disrepair, and the incomes of the clergy had been unjustly seized on by laymen. So miserably small were the stipends become, that in Connaught there was scarce one vicar's pension which exceeded forty shillings a year. In some places they were but sixteen shillings, and many of the bishopricks were reduced so low as fifty pounds per annum. Inadequate to support men of birth and education suitably, these livings were held by persons negligent of their clerical duties, low and unlettered, and too frequently of dissolute habits. Charles was, therefore, earnestly petitioned to "settle a rural clergy, endowed with competency to serve God at his altar, by which barbarism and superstition should be expelled, and the subject taught his

duty to God and his sovereign." By the judicious provisions of Wentworth, the churches were repaired, able ministers provided, their incomes in a great measure restored, and by the adoption of the Articles of the Church of England, a complete union was formed between the establishment of the two kingdoms.

From a jealousy unworthy of Wentworth, lest Ireland should undersell England in foreign markets, he discouraged the woollen manufacture, but to make amends, introduced that of flax, to which the soil of this island is peculiarly suited. To promote speculation in the linen trade, he embarked in it himself to a vast amount, importing seed and workmen from Holland. He had the satisfaction of seeing his plan prosper, and afford employment to those who would otherwise have been left to starve from the ruin of the woollen manufacture.

His grand object, however, was the plantation of Connaught, to accomplish which, he used unjustifiable severities towards those juries who, having examined into the titles of the proprietors there refused to give the crown a pretext for seizing them, by pronouncing that they were defective. Upon this, a strong party was raised against him in Ireland, by whom his conduct was represented to the king in so harsh a light, that Wentworth found it necessary to repair to London to justify himself. Charles received him most graciously, commended his behaviour warmly, and in a little time created him Earl of Strafford. He resumed his government with increased severity; but his ruin was resolved on, and to accomplish this, a statement of grievances imputed to him was drawn up and presented to the king. Contrary to the advice of his friends, and relying fatally on Charles's promise of protection,

he again hastened to London, where he was impeached, and committed to the tower. Charles weakly laboured by various concessions to the recusants, to save his favourite; but the more he granted, the more they demanded, and with such unrelenting violence did they pursue their object, that the king sacrificed to them the minister who had staked all for his ungrateful master. The articles against him, had they been impartially discussed, could almost all have been disproved; but party feeling prevailed, and Strafford was tried, attainted, and on the 12th of May, 1641, beheaded on Tower-hill. Sir Christopher Wandesford, who had been Deputy to the Earl of Strafford, had died suddenly, a short time before the execution of that nobleman; and Charles, desirous of pleasing both Puritans and Royalists, nominated a person from each party, choosing as lords-justices, Sir William Parsons, and Lord Dillon, whose affection to the royal service had been proved; but on the Puritans violently objecting against the latter, the king weakly consented to revoke his nomination, and substituted Sir John Borlase, one of their own party, in his place.

The partizans of the Irish continued to clamour for further indulgences, when suddenly a new turn was given to the public mind, by the breaking out of the IRISH REBELLION.

Although the best governed districts of the kingdom presented an appearance of peace, a general hatred of the *new* English prevailed, not amongst the Irish only, but amongst the descendants of the original English settlers, who were treated with contempt by their recently arrived countrymen. By the injudicious management of its governors, the island had been divided into two parties, that of loyal subjects, consisting of the late adventurers, and that of

the disaffected, including the rest of the inhabitants. It must be remembered, too, that great part of Ireland was peopled by Roman Catholics, impatient of the disqualifications imposed on them, justly incensed at Charles's evasion of the graces, and entirely led by a priesthood, who taught the power of the pope to depose princes, absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and sanctify rebellion in what they called "the cause of the church." These feelings left them at the mercy of any turbulent demagogue who might, either from a principle of mistaken patriotism or to accomplish his private ends, endeavour to excite them to rebellion, and they were now taken advantage of by ROGER MOORE.

Moore was head of a once powerful family of Leinster, from whence his ancestors had been expelled by fraud and violence in Queen Mary's reign. Unjustly resolving to visit this severity on the present government, he laboured indefatigably to increase the slumbering discontent. He was joined by a son of the Earl of Tyrone, who had been in the service of Spain, Macguire, baron of Enniskillen, Sir Roger Plunket, Colonel Mac Mahon, Turlogh O'Neill, and subsequently, his brother Phelim. The objects of this conspiracy were the subversion of the late settlement of property, the restoration of the native Irish to all they had lost by the rebellions of their ancestors, and the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion. Moore, whose handsome person and insinuating manners, were calculated to have him to be a popular idol, was the chosen leader; they celebrated him in song, and it soon became a proverbial expression, that *their dependence was upon God and Roger Moore*.

The 23d of October was the day fixed on for the attack on the Castle of Dublin. Plunket undertook

to engage for the lords of the pale, Moore was to seize the Castle of Dublin, while Sir Phelim O'Neill was to be the leader of the northern insurgents. The risings in the country were to be on the same morning, when the garrisons were to be seized, and the gentry made prisoners ; but as little blood was to be shed as possible, to avoid provoking a spirit of retaliation, in case fortune should frown on the conspirators.

Though Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase had received intimations that a rebellious spirit was spreading in the country, they seemed asleep to all sense of danger, and so stood matters upon the 23d of October.

On the evening of that day, a man called Owen Conally, a converted Roman Catholic, but who knew nothing of the plot, was invited by one Hugh Mac Mahon to spend the evening at his house. There the chief conspirators were assembled, who, having spent the evening in drunken wassail, closed their feasting by falling upon their knees, and drinking *success to the morning's work*. Conally looked on with stupid astonishment, till Mac Mahon, in the thoughtless exultation of the moment laid open the whole scheme to him, when, after having watched for a safe moment to escape, he rushed into the presence of Sir William Parsons, and made a full disclosure of what he had just witnessed. Inferring from his intoxicated appearance, that this was but the tale of a drunken man, Parsons gave him little credit ; but his colleague Borlase thought more seriously of the matter. Conally was again questioned, and on his repeating the same testimony when he grew sober, it was judged advisable to arrest Mac Mahon and Macguire, the former of whom, while he waited in the hall for the council to examine him, amused himself

by very composedly chalking on the wall figures of men hanging upon gibbets.

These two conspirators, some time afterwards perished as they deserved, by the hand of the executioner.

Borlase sent immediately notice to the lords of the pale, and Sir Francis Willoughby, who happened to arrive that night from Galway, was made governor of Dublin, which, owing to the neglect of the lords-justices, was in a wretchedly defenceless situation. The Protestant and Roman Catholic lords and gentlemen of the pale immediately came forward with protestations of allegiance, and asked for arms, which the council feared either to give or refuse. At last they resolved to entrust them with a small quantity, which, however, having reason to suspect their loyalty, they in a little time recalled.

Meanwhile, the northern conspirators rose on the day intended. Dungannon, Newry, and almost all Fermanagh and Monaghan were gained by them. In Cavan, the sheriff, who was in fact implicated in the rebellion, seized on many of the towns, forts, and castles; and he and his followers compelled Bedell, the excellent bishop of Kilmore, to draw up a remonstrance to government, wherein they declared themselves obliged by fear to act as they had done.

The morning on which the insurrection broke out, Lord Blayney was surprised by Colonel M'Mahon, and imprisoned, first in the castle of Carrick, and subsequently in that of Monaghan. He had not remained there many days, when Mac Mahon ordered him to be taken from the dungeon, and led to a neighbouring orchard, where he accompanied him with some soldiers. On arriving at their destination, turning to his captive, he sternly demanded—"Do you remember how you **hanged** my brother, and

made me fly for three years? But I will hang you before I go!—however, if you will, you shall have a priest, a friar being at hand!” Lord Blayney answered firmly—“I am of the true church, and so sure of my salvation, that I will not alter my faith.” A soldier, more compassionate than his master, asked whether Mr. Cottingham, the incumbent of Monaghan, who had been in the dungeon with him, should be sent for—the unfortunate prisoner gladly complied; but Mac Mahon, with inhuman barbarity, refused, saying, “Truss him up, he goes deep enough into hell; he needs no minister to plunge him deeper!” Accordingly, they hanged him to a tree, and afterwards stripped, and threw him into a ditch where he lay for two days, when he was coffined, and interred in the orchard by the Lady Blayney, who could not procure permission to bury him in the churchyard.

On the same day, Boyle, Earl of Cork and Orrery, remarkable for integrity and learning, arrived at his castle, on the Blackwater, which he strongly fortified. Here he was soon assailed, but saved himself by an ingenious stratagem: he ordered all the ordnance and muskets which he possessed to be discharged at once, sending the besiegers word that the English army was come into the town. Believing this, from the loudness of the report which they had just heard, they were struck with such terror, that they lowered their colours, and hastened to take boat on the Blackwater. His lordship, upon their flight, sent a party of fifty horsemen in pursuit, who killed and wounded many, and recovered a quantity of cattle, horses, and sheep, which had been taken from the English. On the following day, a cow might have been bought at Lismore for eighteen pence, and a sheep for three pence.

As yet, not any indiscriminate slaughter had been

committed in Ulster; but the English were driven from their habitations in all the ghastliness of want and famine. Multitudes of Protestants of rank came from the north, covered with rags, or with, perhaps, a little straw twisted round them; some, worn out with travelling, were seen creeping upon their knees; others, from fatigue and terror, lost their senses; and the priests having pronounced the sentence of excommunication on all who should afford them shelter, the Roman Catholics refused to let them even into sheds, "so that these perishing creatures appeared like living ghosts in every street." At length, some trifling supplies were furnished by government, and the gentlemen of Ulster rousing themselves, gained a few advantages over the rebels; but this served only to increase their fury. The Irish priests barbarously encouraged the carnage which now began to rage—women, forgetting the softness of their sex, pursued their Protestant brethren with curses—and little children, in impotent malice, lifted the dagger against the helpless prisoners.

The English government was in reality averse from granting aid sufficient to put down the rebellion; because that having availed themselves of some incautious expressions of the king, which seemed to recommend their taking the management of the Irish war into their own hands, they made the suppressing of it an excuse for doing whatever they desired. Under that pretext, arms were taken from the magazine, which were, in fact, to be employed against the king; and encouraged by the delay of the English succours, Moore proceeded to further violence, and bestowed on this body of insurgents who committed them, the epithet of "THE CATHOLIC ARMY."

The cruelties which were perpetrated, were revolt-

ing to human nature. A mother having been stabbed to death, her breast was put into the mouth of her infant, who was thus left to perish. Children were forced to carry their aged parents to execution; the sick taken from their beds and hanged. "A woman," says Sir John Temple, "who had been half-killed by the rebels, was put into a dry hole, made for a well, and made fast in it with stones, whereof she languished and died, while the rebels bragged how many of them went to see her kick and toss in the hole!"

These atrocities provoked retaliation, and the army of Sir Charles Coote, who was employed by the lords-justices to drive the insurgents from Wicklow, seemed to rival them in barbarity. Sir Charles gained several advantages; but the rebels, no wise discouraged by these defeats, resolved on besieging Drogheda, and were now openly joined by the lords of the pale, who were provoked by their arms having been recalled by the lords-justices. Being summoned by the chief-justices to assist the crown, they refused, under various pretexts; but at the same time, sent an apology to the king expressive of their allegiance, carefully distinguishing him from *the Irish government*. The contagion spread to Connaught and Munster, where the president St. Leger, to intimidate the populace, practised excessive severities, which the rebels retorted with such cruelty, that many of the popish ecclesiastics now endeavoured to moderate their fury. The insurrection gained rapidly in Munster, and the complete reduction of the province was only prevented by the steady loyalty of Lord Clanrickard, who stood firm against bribes and menaces, and by the dissensions which prevailed in the insurgent army.

On the success of the siege of Drogheda the fate of Ireland in a great measure depended, as the pos-

session of that town would have opened a way to the capital, after having seized which, the rebels had resolved on "a general extirpation of the English, root and branch, and to leave them no root nor posterity in the kingdom. Sir Faithful Fortescue, the governor of Drogheda, having been disappointed of supplies, resigned the command to Sir Henry Tichburne, with a body of forces very incompetent to its defence. Lord Viscount Moore having joined with great bravery in Tichburne's measures, the rebels commanded by the ferocious Colonel Mac Mahon, destroyed his house at Mellifont, slew the very dogs, made the chapel their quaffing room, and threw a fair church bible into a mill-pond." The rebels met and defeated a small party at Julianstown bridge, within three miles of Drogheda, and then proceeding to the town, demanded its absolute surrender for his majesty's service, to which Sir Henry Tichburne returned a bold refusal, saying, that "if they attempted to reduce it by the sword, they should have their lives first; if by famine, they should hear they eat their horses' hides."

The insurgent leaders resolved to assault the town at a certain moment on St. John's eve; but the loyalists having information of that intention, set the clock back half an hour, so, when the appointed time came, the signal of the besiegers, to their comrades within, was answered by the cannons of the besieged. But in a few weeks, provisions began to fail. The common soldiers' food was herrings and water without bread. Coals were so scarce that the orchards were cut down for firing, while the horses drooped for want of hay and oats. In the midst of this distress, five vessels arrived with food and ammunition. "Oh!" says the Rev. Nicholas Barnard, (chaplain to the primate,) from whose "Narrative" many of

these extracts are taken, "oh! the shouts of joy that echoed on all sides. Tears were in most men's eyes for gladness; all with one consent in the very street acknowledging it to be God's handy-work." On the 11th of January, while the guards were asleep, the rebels made a breach in the wall, at which five hundred entered. With stealthy steps they gained the quay, where, imagining themselves secure of the town, they exultingly exclaimed, "CLAN PATRICK," ("St. Patrick's child;") but their exultation was premature, for the governor, roused by the cry, rushed with his troops upon the rebels, and forced them to retreat. The town's people having notice that thousands waited outside expecting the opening of the gates, having seized a piper belonging to the rebels, placed him on one of the walls, forcing him, on pain of death, to dance and play, and invite his comrades "to enter, as the town was theirs, on which multitudes came running out of breath for haste to the gates, like birds to the snare, or fishes to the net, till the prisoners were glutted with them."

Throughout the siege, a strongly religious feeling was manifested by the soldiery; many festivals were solemnly observed, and at Christmas, the whole of the troops having received the communion, it lasted for two or three days, "As at last," continues the chaplain, "the provisions which had been hailed with such joy were consumed, death began to look more terrible within the walls than without; the bells rested not from passing tolls, the streets were frequented daily and hourly with doleful beat of drums and sad funeral marches, the church-yard continually ringing with volleys of shot at their burials. This utmost extremity seemed to me a time when the Lord would most probably be seen." Acting on this conviction accordingly, Mr. Barnard summoned

his diminished congregation to the church, and gave them an affecting exhortation, choosing for his text, "Give us this day our daily bread." They remained in prayer from morning till evening, "and however," says the chaplain, "some men might think that a present answer to our prayers might seem without warrant; yet, see the event; that evening the wind inclined—next morning, from the worst, it turned to the best, and our very enemies observed as a wonder, that that night a number of fishes never seen before, was taken in the river."

On the following Sunday, a messenger came running into the church with the joyful intelligence, "that vessels with relief had come within the bar," and, animated by this, several successful sallies were made by the besieged, in which Lord Moore distinguished himself gallantly.

Nothing could exceed the barbarity with which the prisoners made by the rebels were treated. A son of the unfortunate Lord Blayney was hanged because he would not go to mass. An officer, who, in the hope of saving his life, had consented to receive the sacrament in the Romish manner, was told that he would never be so fit for God again; "and so, giving him his choice of a rope or a withe, they instantly hanged him. It was common to lay wagers who should give the deepest gash in massacring the prisoners."

Sir Phelim O'Neill, who commanded the rebels, disheartened by gaining nothing, and losing more men and time every day, suddenly raised the siege, and marched to Dundalk. The change in regard to abundance was now almost incredible, by the plenty flowing in, from the large quantity left behind by the enemy, as well as what was brought into the town. Horses that would have brought

three or four pounds before the siege, were sold for twelve pence a piece ; milch cows for five shillings, and hens for two pence.

Many private letters were sent to Lord Moore, imploring his protection, and execrating the leaders of the rebellion. Some of the writers confessed that the intention of the rebels was to make a bonfire of the primate's library, who at that time resided in Drogheda, boasting how they should warm their hands in the flames kindled by those books which had destroyed so many souls. Barnard, as librarian, was to have been hung up by it, and afterwards beaten to powder ; and one of the principal defenders of the town was to have been put into a cask filled with spikes, and rolled up and down until he died. "Thus," says the chaplain, "this poor town of Drogheda, where were 16,000 besiegers sometimes besetting us, the famine pressing us sore, so that what with death and sickness we had not above a thousand fighting men, yet, by God's goodness, held out four months, notwithstanding home-bred treacheries, mighty onsets, and alarms."

The Earl of Ormond who was commissioned to lead 3,000 men against Sir Phelim O'Neill, pursued him to Dundalk, where he drove him and his rebels from the town. He would entirely have cut off the army had he been permitted to pursue his success ; but he was unfortunately restrained by the strict orders of the lords-justices from pursuing his conquest further.

The war between Charles and his parliament was now (1642) on the point of breaking out, and to make the unhappy monarch still more unpopular, the English government affected to believe the report which had been set abroad by the insurgents, of his having instigated the rebellion. To do away

with that impression, he strongly desired to assist in person in quelling it; but this the parliament would by no means permit. The rebel lords of the pale, who had indulged hopes from his lenity, grew desperate, when they found that he was not coming to Ireland, and resolving to trust to their arms, they came to a pitched battle with the troops under Lord Ormond at Kilrush, in the county of Kilkenny, where they were entirely defeated.

Every part of the kingdom had become exposed to the miseries of a war which was prolonged by the averseness of its governors to its termination. Dispirited and heartbroken by their neglect, Sir William St. Leger died, and was succeeded in the government of Munster by Lord Inchiquin, who, though not properly supported, gained some advantages against the rebels. At length the lords-justices consented to receive help from Scotland, and a large body of troops was sent to Ulster under the command of General Munroe, who, with the exception of taking by treachery the Earl of Antrim in his castle of Dunluce, wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, leaving the defence of Ulster chiefly to the English garrison.

The rebels reinforced by troops from France and Spain under Owen O'Neill, who had served in the Imperial and Spanish armies with reputation, had again recourse to the church to sanctify their proceedings. A synod at Armagh had already pronounced the war to be lawful; a second, now held at Kilkenny, further obliged the confederates to bind themselves together by a solemn oath, and pronounced every Roman Catholic accursed, who should remain *neuter*; and at a third meeting, held in the same place, the Romish lords, prelates, clergy, and deputies from the several counties and chief towns,

sat in the form of a regular parliament, declared their resolution to maintain "the Catholic church," professed allegiance to the king, but denounced the Irish government as inimical alike to him and their country, and assumed to themselves the administration of public justice, vesting the power in an assembly styled THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

Ormond, unflinching in his loyalty to the king, was hated and persecuted by Lord Leicester, the lord lieutenant, and the deputies, who were attached to the parliament; so that Charles found it necessary to render Ormond's commission independent of that of the lord lieutenant, and "to grace so good a servant still further, of his own motion created him a marquis." A statement of the distress of Ireland was presented through him to the monarch, who, engaged in the war with his parliament, earnestly desired to conclude a peace with the insurgents; and finding that the present governors of Ireland were utterly averse from his doing so, he removed Parsons from his office, substituting Sir Henry Tichburne in his stead, and Ormond received orders to treat with the rebels for a temporary cessation of hostilities.

The marquis became the more solicitous to comply with this command, that, between the scarcity of provisions and the violence of the rebels, the country was reduced to a miserable state of destitution. Aware, however, that the parliament would raise an outcry at such a proposal, he called upon it either to devise means for tranquillizing Ireland, or to supply him with funds sufficient to prosecute the war. The members having declared themselves unable to comply with either of these requisitions, he no longer hesitated, and proposed to the insurgents reasonable conditions for a cessation; but they demanded more

than he could venture to grant, being urged to do so by Scarampi, the legate, who had been sent over by the pope, with supplies of arms and ammunition, and a bull granting a general jubilee, and plenary absolution to all who had taken arms for the Roman Catholic religion; happily, the more liberal amongst the confederates did not pay him the same implicit obedience as was yielded by the ancient Irish, and the Lords Clanrickard and Castlehaven labouring to inspire their fellow Catholics with ideas of moderation and peace, the influence of such men proved successful. The cessation was agreed to in September, 1642, and the sum of £30,000 voted to be paid to the king, one-half in money and the other in cattle. When the articles had been mutually arranged, Ormond communicated them to the Lords Clanrickard, Roscommon, Dungarvan, Brabazon, and Inchiquin, with some privy councillors and principal officers, who subscribed a declaration, that, considering the circumstances of the kingdom, they conceived it necessary for his majesty's honour and service, that the cessation should be finally concluded, on the articles now laid before them. It received the ratification of the lord-justices and council, and was notified by a public proclamation to the whole kingdom.

This treaty, however justified by the necessities and distresses of Ireland, was received with clamour and discontent. It displeased those amongst the confederates who would have grasped at more, those amongst the Protestants who thought that too much had been given, and, above all, the English parliament, who were by it deprived of a pretence for raising money to support the contest with the king. Ormond being able to send some forces to his assistance, was, in return, appointed lord lieutenant by his royal master. The less violent of the confede-

rates, conciliated by mildness, proposed to lay down their arms, on conditions which became gradually more moderate, and deputies were sent from the privy council of Ireland to communicate their proposal to Charles, amongst whom was Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, the famous chronologist. Charles, afraid to offend his Protestant subjects by conceding too much, and his Roman Catholic people, by granting too little, in this emergency resolved to throw all the odium of the treaty upon Ormond, whom he commissioned to make a full peace with the insurgents of Ireland, on such terms as he judged to be conformable to the Irish welfare.

Ormond was aware of the difficulties in which he was placed, but, although surrounded by enemies, and without any prospect of relief from England, resolved to serve faithfully the interests of his royal master, and commenced a hopeless treaty. Had Charles left him to himself he would, probably, have concluded one honourable to his prince and beneficial to the country; but the king marred all prospect of this, by timidly entering into private negotiations, making secret promises to the recusants, and at length, towards the close of 1644, writing to the lord lieutenant, according as the parliament gained ground, and desiring him to conclude peace "on almost any terms."

At the end of 1644, Lord Edward Somerset, son to the Marquis of Worcester, a young nobleman who was weak and vain, but warmly attached to the king, undertook to lead a considerable Irish army to Charles's aid, if he were empowered to make such conditions with the recusants as he judged necessary. Instead of confiding in the noble Ormond, the king was weakly led to commission Somerset, (whom he created Earl of Glamorgan,) to conclude a private

treaty, in which he promised the confederates, that they should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, possession of most of the churches, liberty to exercise their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to be eligible to all offices of trust and dignity.

The vacillation of Charles had led the recusants to increase in their demands to Ormond, and also to apply to Rome for counsel and assistance. The ambassador was favourably received by the Pope, who, anxious to recall Ireland to its spiritual allegiance, dispatched, as nuncio to that country, Cardinal Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, in Italy, whose manners were bland and conciliating, but whose temper was vain, bigoted, and ambitious. He was commissioned to unite the Irish prelates in a firm declaration for war, till their religion should be established, and a Roman Catholic lord lieutenant appointed, should he be unable, by bribery, to induce Ormond to change his religion and deliver up Dublin and Drogheda to the Irish. Encouraged by his ambassadors, the recusants loudly demanded, that the penal laws should be entirely repealed, and their prelates be permitted to exercise uncontrolled jurisdiction, when Charles, with apparent indignation, directed Ormond, "rather to leave all things to the chance of war than to grant such terms as must destroy the Protestant profession." But hardly had the lord lieutenant stated this reply to the confederates, when Glamorgan arrived, and secretly pledged the royal word for the fulfilment of their exorbitant requisitions, on condition that he should be allowed to lead 10,000 men to the relief of the king, and promising besides, that Charles should oblige himself never to employ any but a Roman Catholic lord lieutenant, and that the powers of

“the supreme council” should exist until these private articles should be ratified.

The moderate Roman Catholics having zealously interfered to prevent the effusion of more bloodshed, the public treaty was on the point of being settled, it being agreed to refer the religious articles to the decision of the king, when Rinuccini, who had been delayed at Paris, hastened to Ireland, where Glamorgan put into his hands a letter from Charles, promising to ratify whatever conditions the nuncio and he should agree to. Rinuccini, upon this, openly declared that the safety of the king depended upon the pope and the Irish subjects, whom it would, therefore, be madness in his majesty to offend.

The secret practices, so disgraceful to all parties concerned, were, however, about to be brought to light. In an action fought between Sir Charles Coote and the Archbishop of Tuam, who headed the Munster rebels, Coote was victorious; the archbishop was killed, and in his pocket a copy of Glamorgan's private treaty was found. Some of the Protestants loudly exclaimed against the king; others could not bring themselves to believe that Charles had countenanced such measures, and Lord Digby, who was of the latter opinion, immediately charged the earl with high treason. He confessed the truth before the council, alleging, however, that although authorized by the king to proceed so far as he had done, he had not pledged Charles to fulfil any conditions except such as he should judge to be right and proper. *Publicly*, Charles disclaimed having empowered Glamorgan to take any step beyond using his influence to persuade the confederates to agree to moderate terms, and he commanded Lord Digby to prosecute the matter to the utmost. *Privately*, he

wrote to Ormond to let the impeachment drop, and the earl magnanimously rising above the feelings of indignation against the master who had secretly endeavoured to thwart his efforts, or of jealousy towards the agent by whom he had been virtually superseded in his negociation, allowing for the difficulties which induced an amiable but ill-judging and unfortunate prince to act in opposition to his conscience, not only released Glamorgan, but gave him a commission to treat with the confederates for the transportation of the promised succours. Thus authorized, he concluded a treaty with Rinuccini, in which he acceded to the most exorbitant demands, and fearing that the prelate might prove false, bribed him to fidelity with magnificent promises, and wrote to Charles to assure him of that speedy relief which his vanity made him so anxious to muster.

Whilst Lord Glamorgan acted thus weakly, Ormond, in 1646, in despite of the efforts of Rinuccini, brought his treaty to a conclusion. The articles are too numerous to be inserted here, but with respect to religion, it was stipulated only, that the Roman Catholics should be exempt from the oath of supremacy on their swearing allegiance according to a new form. The confederates engaged to supply 10,000 foot, well armed and provided; and, if they failed in this condition, the king was to be considered as released from his treaty. Ormond was as unsuccessful in giving satisfaction in the terms on which he had concluded the peace, as he had been in those agreed on in the cessation. The parliamentarians and Papists everywhere opposed it, and the latter were backed by Rinuccini, who objected to any treaty which should not satisfy his extravagant expectations of a complete and splendid establishment of the Romish worship exhorted the Irish to *look abroad*,

and pointed to the pope as their natural protector. The troops meanwhile were levied, but various pretexts made for delaying to send them over, when Ormond boldly charged the recusants with want of faith, and threatened to enforce the fulfilment of their conditions.

Joining with Owen O'Neill, Rinuccini now appeared in a military capacity, and the NUNCIO'S ARMY, led by O'Neill, gained a victory over General Munroe at Benburb, in the county of Antrim, when their commander was suddenly ordered by Rinuccini into Leinster to oppose the peace. The cardinal's wishes were gratified, the proclamation was every where resisted, excommunications were threatened against those who paid or levied money for the king, and a new oath formed, by which the Roman Catholics engaged not to submit to any peace, but such as should be approved of by the Irish clergy.

A few ecclesiastics seemed now masters of the kingdom. The nuncio made a public entry into Kilkenny, with all the pomp of royalty, appointed a new council in his own name, modelled armies. commanded at pleasure, and his triumph was completed by a letter from Charles to Glamorgan, in which he spoke of throwing himself into the arms of Rinuccini.

Ormond, with deep anguish, perceived his mortifying situation. Threatened with a siege of Dublin, which he was unprovided with forces to sustain, he applied to the parliament for support, offering to resign his government, if his continuance in it were any drawback to their giving assistance. They accepted the terms, and promised immediate reinforcements.

Rinuccini having sent proposals to Ormond, which he rejected with just indignation, prepared to besiege

Dublin. His proceedings were for a time delayed by jealousies between O'Neill and a commander of the name of Preston ; but these were soon in some measure smoothed away, and the rebel army approached the city. Anxious to save their friend Ormond from a defeat, or from the almost equal mortification of accepting aid from the parliament, the Lords Digby and Clanrickard endeavoured to bring the confederated troops to consent to reasonable terms. The nuncio's extravagant demands still proved a bar ; but in the midst of the debates, tidings were suddenly brought of the arrival of the parliamentary forces. As if struck by a sudden panic, O'Neill, with all his troops, decamped in the night, followed by Rinuccini—that part only of their army, which was commanded by Preston, remaining on the spot.

Though relieved from the fear of a siege, Ormond was still placed in a very difficult situation. The conditions proposed by the parliamentary agents being such as he could not accept, their forces immediately re-embarked, when he found that he had been pledged to the confederates by Digby and Clanrickard, to make concessions of which his conscience disapproved. As he could not, however, with honour or safety recede, the treaty in which they had engaged for him was on the point of being concluded with Preston, when it was abruptly broken off by that commander, alarmed by a threat of excommunication from the legate, who solemnly pronounced the late peace to be null and void. Exasperated at the repeated perfidy of the confederates, deserted by the king, and abandoned to his enemies after a long series of toilsome efforts, Ormond wrote to the parliament, tendering his resignation. It was accepted ; and on the 19th of June, 1647, he resigned the sword of state, on condition, that as many as chose should

accompany him out of Ireland—that those recusants who had not actively engaged in the rebellion should be treated according to their future deserts—and that all the money expended by him in the king's service should be repaid him.

Civil war had continued to rage with unabated fury in Munster: but Lord Taaffe, the new general of the Roman Catholic army, being defeated by Lord Inchiquin, the president, in an affray where twenty ecclesiastics were slain, the confederates became weary of a contest which produced nothing but confusion and slaughter, and determined on concluding peace in despite of Rinuccini's opposition, gratifying him only so far as to send embassies to their foreign allies, and also to Rome, imploring the protection of his Holiness.

At the same time they dispatched ambassadors to the queen, now in France, to assure her of their ardent desire for peace, which Ormond, who was at her court, strongly advised her to conclude on such terms as were honourable to the state. The confederates, considering him as a friend, united with the Scots of Ulster, and with Lord Inchiquin, who had been offended by the parliament, in desiring Ormond's recall. This, the nuncio strenuously endeavoured to prevent; transported by visions of the pope becoming supreme monarch of Ireland, with a stately hierarchy to execute his commands, he turned his eyes from the calamities of the nation; but he laboured in vain. It was resolved, after various debates, that peace should be proclaimed, with a clause of mutual assistance against all who opposed it. Enraged to frenzy, Rinuccini caused a protest against this proclamation to be fixed on the door of Kilkenny cathedral; thundered his excommunication against some *impious* wretches who tore it down, and denounced an inter

dict upon all places where it should be maintained. But by making his denunciations common, he had rendered them contemptible, and instead of being recalled by them to obedience, the general assembly coolly prohibited all correspondence with him.

His power was now almost confined to the army led by O'Neill, and not having money to support a war, he judged it prudent to permit that general to make overtures to Michael Jones, whom the parliament had made governor of Dublin. O'Neill was received by Jones with open arms, but judged it prudent to retreat, on hearing that Lord Inchiquin, with a large body of men, was advancing against him. In the midst of this commotion, Ormond returned as lord lieutenant, approved of by the queen and prince, and determined if possible to unite both Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in affectionate allegiance to their sovereign.

About the same time the answer from Rome reached "the supreme council." Their agents arrived from thence laden with relics and benedictions, but without supplies of any kind, the pope pleading the distresses of the holy see as an excuse for his not advancing money to the Irish, and leaving them in religious matters to pursue the dictates of their own judgment. The disappointment felt on the reception of this answer confirmed the moderate confederates in their desire for peace, and the objections which were raised by the most violent party were silenced by tidings that the king's life had been threatened by the parliament, and the idea of the consequent danger of the recusants, who from its members could expect but little mercy. Peace was accordingly a second time concluded with Ormond. The civil articles agreed on were nearly the same with those of 1646. The religious were such as he

had formerly rejected. All the penal statutes were to be repealed; the Roman Catholics to be allowed the free exercise of their religion. Ormond also consented to permit twelve persons, called **COMMISSIONERS OF TRUST**, to be named by the general assembly, to see that the articles were duly performed, and to be joint sharers of his authority; binding himself neither to levy soldiers, raise money, nor erect garrisons, without their consent.

Ormond, aware that his treaty would highly displease the Protestants, published a proclamation, in which he condescended to justify his conduct, by pleading that the exigency of the king's situation demanded that immediate assistance, which could not be purchased upon easier terms. But the hopes which he had conceived of being able to succour his unhappy master, were disappointed; before the intelligence of the Irish treaty arrived in London, Charles had already received the fatal stroke

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INTERREGNUM.

1649 TO 1660.

ONE of the first acts of Charles the Second was to confirm Ormond in his office of lord lieutenant, which proved one of daily increasing anxiety; for though the nuncio had retired in disgrace to France, he had left many behind, to thwart the governor's endeavours. Of all the leaders of the various parties in Ireland, Clanrickard alone stood firm to him, and nobly resigned his post of lieutenant general, that he might lend assistance to his admirable friend.

In vain Ormond urged the young king to come over to Ireland, on which condition O'Neill had pledged himself to submit. Partly dissuaded by the Scots, partly deceived by the States of Holland, who had promised to send him relief, Charles lost the time when his presence here might have spared many miseries to himself and the kingdom.

The first object of the lord lieutenant's anxiety was to recover Dublin from the parliamentarians; and, assisted by Lord Inchiquin, he resolved to lay siege to it; but, on hearing that the king was to be brought back unconditionally, many of the Leinster troops deserted. Ormond's plans were betrayed to Jones, and he was obliged to discontinue the blockade and retire with his shattered army. Having soon after his defeat written to the governor of Dublin, desiring that he would send a list of the prisoners he had taken, he received the following insolent reply, prompted by the vanity of success:—

“MY LORD—Since I routed your army I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you.

“MICHAEL JONES.”

The time, however, had arrived, when the English parliament resolved to show that they were sincere in their intention of conquering Ireland. A large army was prepared to accomplish that object; and while Presbyterians and independents disputed as to who should be its commander, OLIVER CROMWELL had the address to get himself named lord lieutenant and on the 15th of August, 1649, landed in Dublin, with 8,000 foot, 4,000 horse, and a formidable train of artillery.

He immediately marched against Drogheda, which town was of much consequence of being on the frontier, and opening a communication with the northern provinces.

Ormond had sent a strong garrison thither, under Sir Arthur Aston, a Roman Catholic officer of ability, who bravely refused Cromwell's summons to surrender; for two days Aston made a gallant defence, but on the third a



breach was effected by the republican troops, who rushed into the town. All hope of further resistance being over, Sir Arthur's soldiers threw down their arms, on quarter being promised to those who did so; but hardly had the place been given up, when Cromwell, to strike terror into the rest of Ireland, ordered a cold-blooded massacre of the governor, soldiers, and inhabitants. The work of death was continued for five days, and only thirty of the townsmen escaped, who were sent as slaves to Barbadoes. This cruel policy had its intended effect. Panic-struck, the garrisons of Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, and Coleraine, surrendered; and Wexford where Ormond attempted a defence, betrayed into the hands of Cromwell, soon saw his colours floating from its walls. At the fort of Duncannon near that town, he received a check, the garrison making so brave a defence as obliged him to retire, and transport his army by a bridge of boats across the Barrow. Ormond having been joined by the troops of Owen O'Neill, with whom he had made an accommodation, conceived hopes of making a successful effort against Cromwell, when they were crushed, by the greater part of the province of Munster declaring for that general.

In the following year, he attacked the town of Kilkenny, which, after being defended so gallantly by Sir Walter Butler as to win the admiration of Cromwell, surrendered; and the conqueror proceeded to invest Clonmel, in Tipperary, where he met with a spirited resistance, while Ormond made unceasing efforts to succour it, and was nobly backed by the Roman Catholic bishop of Ross. That prelate, being taken prisoner, was led before the city, and commanded, on pain of death, to exhort the citizens to surrender; but magnanimously refusing to obey the order, he

was carried to immediate execution. Want of men and provisions compelled the garrison to capitulate, after holding out for two months, when Cromwell, alarmed by hints of a Scottish invasion, returned to England, leaving the army under the command of Ireton

Though much of Ireland had been subdued by Cromwell, enough remained in the hands of the Roman Catholics to enable them to make head successfully against him ; but they had neither union, order, nor resolution. The earl vainly endeavoured to inspire them with courage, and induce them to defend themselves. In many instances, with blind infatuation, they absolutely closed their gates against his garrison. The whole of the northern province had been reduced by Sir Charles Coote, the parliamentary general. In Munster, Limerick still remained in the hands of the royalists ; but, incited by the Romish clergy (through whom Rinuccini still acted from a distance) to hate and oppose Ormond, they refused his advice, to admit into their city a body of soldiers sufficient to defend it, and Galway soon after followed its example. Disappointed and thwarted in all his measures, he formed the resolution of leaving the kingdom, when his determination was altered by the imperative tone in which the Romish bishops wrote to him, *requiring* that he should place the public power in the hands of some one whom they could esteem. He summoned them to a conference ; they refused to attend, and, struck by their disrespectful conduct, he declared that he would not resign his trust until he was compelled to do so by necessity. The prelates, on this, pronounced excommunication against all who should afford him subsidy or countenance, while the more liberal Roman Catholics strongly protested against a measure which

gave the parliamentarians such advantages. Carlow, Waterford, and Duncannon, had recently fallen into their hands; and on Lord Clanrickard marching to check the progress of Sir Charles Coote, the sentence of excommunication, read at the head of the troops, discharged them from obedience to their general.

A proclamation was now published by Charles II., imputing all the calamities of the late war to his father, whose sin in marrying into an idolatrous family he deeply deplored, expressing the utmost contrition for his own irregular life, but especially for having been led to conclude with the papists a peace which he now pronounced null and void. This proclamation was followed by a letter from the king to the Earl of Ormond, in which he endeavoured to apologise for his conduct, by urging the plea of necessity, but strongly advised the lord lieutenant to quit the scene of contest. Left without troops to serve his master's interest, and provoked by the timidity of the commissioners, who were contented with receiving an assurance from the bishops, that *they did not intend to usurp the king's authority*, he decided on retiring from the kingdom. The commissioners, who were aware of his value, entreated him not to leave Ireland, or at least if he did so, to appoint some one in his place who would be loyal to the king and acceptable to the nation. To the latter request he agreed, on condition that the deputy should be secured from the insults to which he had been exposed; he then named the faithful Clanrickard as his successor, and, embarking at Galway, arrived safely in France after a dangerous voyage. The bishops sought, by various subterfuges, to avoid engaging themselves to the deputy by any oath which should be binding; Clanrickard, on his side, endeavoured to frame one as strict as possible, but finding himself

not properly supported by the commissioners, was obliged to be content with an equivocal obligation. Soon after this matter had been adjusted, the parliamentarians sent an embassy to the general assembly to propose an union with them. The Romish bishops warmly approved of the measure, while the assembly strongly objected, and inveighed against the bishops in terms so strong as to induce them to pretend to agree in their views, having beforehand secretly commissioned Lord Taaffe to solicit the assistance of the Duke of Lorraine.

The duke addressed his proposals to "The Chief Estates of Ireland," and his ambassadors finding that the Earl of Clanrickard was chief governor, presented them to him as the proper person to refer to. The requisitions of the Duke of Lorraine, which showed that he aimed at little less than the sovereignty of Ireland, were rejected indignantly by Clanrickard, who agreed, however, to send two agents, Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir William Browne, to treat with the duke upon more reasonable terms. Lord Clanrickard's ambassadors were weakly prevailed on by the Roman Catholic bishop of Ferns, who attended on the Duke of Lorraine, to resign the lord deputy's commission, and, in the name of "the people of Ireland," to sign a paper investing the duke with the sovereignty of that kingdom. The desires of the Roman Catholic party seemed satisfied, but Clanrickard protested against the transaction; and the state of Charles's affairs in Ireland growing too desperate to permit the Duke of Lorraine's assistance being purchased on more reasonable terms, the negotiation fell to the ground.

General Ireton resolved to begin the campaign of 1651, by besieging Limerick, and the Roman Catholic clergy and citizens, throwing off all respect for the

Earl of Clanrickard's authority, chose as the governor the same O'Neill, who had so bravely defended Clonmel. O'Neill resolutely resisted Ireton for three days, when the citizens, who kept up a private communication with the republican general, resolved to capitulate. This the bishops and clergy strenuously opposed, well knowing that they would be his first victims; and sickness spreading through Ireton's army as winter approached, he would soon have been obliged to retire, but the magistrates insisted on giving up the city. The forebodings of the clergy were realized: they were excluded from mercy, and perished by the hands of the executioner.

Galway was the next town summoned to surrender, and would probably have done so immediately, but that the sudden death of Ireton afforded breathing time to its inhabitants, who invited Lord Clanrickard to come to their assistance. Ludlow, who was made temporary general of the republicans, ordered that no provision should be brought them, and no quarter shown to any who, since Cromwell's arrival, had withdrawn themselves from public protection. Preston, the governor of Galway, alarmed by these menaces, fled away by sea, and the citizens, notwithstanding the Earl of Clanrickard's entreaties, surrendered to Ludlow. After gaining a few posts which he could not maintain, the lord deputy was instructed by Charles to make terms with the republicans. He then quitted a country, lost to his royal master by illiberal bigotry, and that incorrigible perverseness which led the people to thwart the measures of those who had their interest sincerely at heart.

The confiscation of the landed property of the rebels, and the adjustment of the claims of the adventurers, that is, those who had advanced sums of money to Cromwell on condition of being repaid by

estates in Ireland, was now taken into consideration by parliament. After much debate, it was determined that they who were convicted of any murder committed in the beginning of the war, were to be considered incapable of pardon, and their estates to be confiscated. They who had only *assisted*, were to lose two-thirds of their property, and be banished from Ireland, but the Lords Ormond, Inchiquin, and some other royalists, were excluded from pardon on any terms.

The first employment of the new administration, was to enforce these rigorous ordinances. Commissions were issued in the several provinces, for the erection of an high court of justice, in order to try those who were accused of murdering the English, and too many were condemned on insufficient evidence. Such numbers of the authors of the first barbarous outrages of this war had been cut off in the hostilities of ten years—had escaped to foreign countries, or had died by the plague—that two hundred only, on the closest inquisition, were condemned to death. In the northern province, which had been the great scene of barbarity, not one was brought to justice but Sir Phelim O'Neill. From the arrival of Owen O'Neill, who had lately died, Sir Phelim had continued to act an inferior part without honour or esteem: he had, during Lord Clanrickard's administration, given him some help occasionally, but was soon compelled, by repeated defeats, to conceal himself in a retired island, from whence he was dragged to justice by Lord Caulfield, heir to a nobleman whose castle he had seized after murdering its possessor and his followers. In the last act of his life he discovered a spirit and resolution worthy of a better character. Being closely pressed by his judges to confess that he had received a commission

from the late king for commencing the Irish rebellion, he strongly denied it. He was promised restoration to his estate, and liberty, if he could produce any material proof of such a commission; he was allowed time to consider—the offer was repeated, but he still persevered in his denial, declaring that his conscience was already oppressed by the outrages of his followers, and that he could not add to the severity of his present feelings by an unjust calumny upon the king. At the time of his execution it was again endeavoured to tempt him, and when on the point of being turned from the ladder, two marshals pressed through the crowd, and whispered a conditional promise of pardon in his ear. He answered aloud, “I thank the lieutenant-general for his intended mercy; but I declare, good people, before God and his holy angels, and all you that hear me, I never had any commission from the king for levying or prosecuting this war.”

Measures to restore tranquillity were soon taken into consideration by parliament. Fleetwood, son-in-law to Cromwell, was appointed to command the army, and Ludlow, Corbet, Jones, and Weaver, all zealous republicans, were united with him in the civil government, under the title of COMMISSIONERS OF PARLIAMENT. They declared by proclamation the rebellion, and, consequently, the war with Ireland concluded. The forfeited lands were assigned to satisfy the arrears due to the English army who had served from Cromwell's arrival. The distress of the persons who had borne arms before that period was much greater, but as that party contained a mixture of those who were termed *ungodly* and *malignant*, not any provision was made for them, excepting a small district in Wicklow and the adjacent counties, which was insufficient to discharge the fourth part of their

arrears. To the adventurers was allotted one moiety of the lands of nine principal counties, the other half of which was bestowed upon the soldiery. Connaught was reserved entirely for the Irish, and here they were ordered to confine themselves without attempting to mix amongst and "*degenerate*" the new English settlers as the old had been corrupted. The remaining part of Ireland was retained by parliament, to be disposed of at its pleasure.

Meantime the news which reached Ireland of Cromwell being proclaimed PROTECTOR, was variously received. The republicans, with Ludlow at their head, violently opposed the bestowing of such a title on him, alleging that it savoured too much of monarchy, and on the proclamation being made, Ludlow resigned his office of commissioner, reserving only that of lieutenant of the army.

To reconcile the country to his usurpation, and prepare the way for his future government of the kingdom, Cromwell sent his son Henry to Ireland, who found that the commissioners, in taking care of themselves, had grossly defrauded the state; and struck with the virulence of his countrymen against the former inhabitants of the country, which had scarcely left a single house out of the walled towns undemolished, he dismissed the obstinate republicans from all places of trust which they enjoyed, and appointed Fleetwood Deputy for three years, assigning him a new council, which was to provide for the improvement of both church and commonwealth, and if it should be judged advisable, dispense with the orders for transporting the Irish to Connaught.

Jealous of this favourable disposition towards the Irish, and imagining that Cromwell's measures looked too like decided sovereignty, part of the army recalled by him to England refused to combat under

him, saying, that "they had engaged to fight *Irish rebels*, but might there strike at their best friends." Ludlow, who encouraged the malcontents, only escaped losing his commission by promising not to join any enemy of Cromwell.

In 1655, Ireland was completely subdued, and the army waited with impatience to reap the fruit of their labours. The great object was to *reconcile* the public to a government which could no longer be resisted, and for that purpose Henry Cromwell was again sent over, whose just and upright conduct so well accomplished the object desired, that when his father received a memorial, stating the dissatisfaction of his own regiment, addresses were transmitted from the army in Ireland, declaring their resolution of adhering faithfully to the interest of the protector.

Cromwell's latter days were miserable ; he had disappointed the hopes of every party, and his government was detested by the English. His own family reprobated his conduct, and his favourite daughter, on her death-bed upbraided him with his crimes. Conspiracies were formed against him, and a book was published, entitled, "Killing no Murder," to show, that to put him to death would be an act of virtue. Cromwell read this book, and is said, never to have smiled afterwards. He was in perpetual fear of assassination. He wore armour under his clothes, and never slept above two or three nights in the same chamber. His countenance became gloomy and haggard, and his eyes betrayed suspicion and alarm on the approach of every stranger ; his frame could not long support a life of such wretchedness, and he died, on the third of September, 1658, a memorable example of the bitter fruits of criminal ambition.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father as protector, and continued his brother Henry in the government of Ireland, with the title of lord lieutenant; and when in consequence of quarrels between Richard and the parliament, Henry's recall was resolved on, he retired to a house in the Phoenix Park, near Dublin, having discharged his trust with such strict integrity, as not to have money enough to bear his expenses to England.

The contentions between Richard and the parliament ending in the abdication of the protector, the Irish royalists conceived hopes of the king's restoration, a desire in which most of the old English race, as well as the Scottish inhabitants of Ulster, warmly sympathised. These dispositions being communicated to the commissioners, induced them to dismiss the generals Broghil and Sir Charles Coote, that the army might be remodelled entirely according to the wishes of the parliament. Those officers, who conceived themselves insulted by being thus discarded, resolved to unite their efforts to bring back the king, and in a little time the royalists throwing off all disguise, assembled at Dublin, where they seized the castle. Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda soon fell into their hands, so that in one week the principal towns of Ireland were in King Charles's interest.

Several invitations were sent to his majesty to come to Dublin, but as General Monck was strenuously exerting himself to procure his recall in England, it was judged more prudent to wait for the result of his efforts. A council of officers now legislated for the kingdom. Summoning a convocation of estates, they declared their detestation of the late king's murder, provided for the payment of the arrears of the army, and made a public declaration

of a free parliament. Ludlow still endeavoured to exasperate the republicans, but in vain; the English parliament, awed by Monck, recalled him from Ireland, and Charles was proclaimed in all the great towns in the kingdom, a large sum of money being voted to him along with the Dukes of York and Gloucester.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHARLES II.—JAMES II.

1660 TO 1689.

ON the restoration of Charles the Second, all parties in Ireland were impatient to be restored to their ancient possessions, or confirmed in their new ones; and each regarded the other with suspicious jealousy. To relieve himself from perpetual embarrassment, and endeavour to tranquillize his Irish subjects, the king, in 1662, published an “Act of Settlement” for this country, by which the *adventurers* were established in the estates possessed by them in 1659; the *soldiers* had those lands confirmed to them which they had already acquired, except such as belonged to the church: *Protestants* not concerned in the rebellion before the cessation, or not having taken a portion in Connaught, were to be restored to their property, as were also *innocent* Papists; but the requisitions towards being considered innocent were so various and minute, that the Roman Catholics who had been so cruelly driven away from their lands by Cromwell, were deeply and justly dissatisfied.

The proceedings of the English commissioners who were sent to investigate their claims, did not contri-

bute to allay their resentment. More than three hundred Romanists were condemned without a fair trial; notwithstanding which, so many were declared "innocent," as to provoke the wrath of those from whom they regained their estates, and for whom no compensation was provided. To these two parties of malcontents, was added a third, in the old republicans, who were but too ready to join in any conspiracy against royalty. Several plots of this nature were formed, but discovered and defeated by Ormond, who had lately been created a duke, and declared by Charles to be lord lieutenant of Ireland.

A statute was now recommended to the Irish parliament, styled "An Act of *Explanation*," (its intention being to explain and define precisely the meaning of the preceding one,) by which it was ordained that the adventurers and soldiers should give up one-third of their lands, so as to admit of the restoration of twenty more of the Roman Catholic party. As the requisitions for being considered "innocent" still remained the same, this afforded as little satisfaction as the former act. Partly, however, by reasoning, partly by menaces, Ormond overcame all objections, and in 1656, the "Act of Explanation," by which Irish property was settled, was passed by the Irish parliament.

The distress of the country, arising from the late commotions, and from its being shut out by the war with France and Holland, from foreign trade, became alarming, and was increased by a cruel and arbitrary prohibition of the English legislature to export fat cattle to England, by which law the Irish were deprived of one of their most lucrative branches of commerce: From this evil, however, good ultimately resulted. The Irish being thrown by it upon their own resources, were led to apply themselves to the

working up of their native commodities, and a spirited woollen trade re-commenced, which was warmly encouraged by Ormond, who established manufactories at Clonmel and Carrick, two towns on the Suir. The fabric of linen, which had been stopped by the distracted state of public affairs, was now revived, and was also encouraged by the lord lieutenant, who, at his own cost, sent persons to the Low Countries to acquire the peculiar art of managing flax followed in the Netherlands. He engaged five hundred families from Brabant, skilled in the manufacture, to teach it to his countrymen; and at Chapelizod, a small village near Dublin, fine linen, diaper, sacking, and cordage, were brought to great perfection. With a zeal for the interest of his country truly patriotic, Ormond having succeeded in persuading Charles to fill the archbishoprics and bishoprics with the most eminent of the clergy of the Established Church, turned his thoughts towards the revival of learning. During the public disturbances, the university had fallen, as might have been expected, into great confusion, and he entrusted its regulation to the learned and excellent Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down; and when some friends remonstrated against his choosing an Irish bishop for that trust, he answered, with much propriety, that "the institution being to produce knowledge and piety amongst the natives, it would be most unjust discouragement to place a stranger over their heads."

Ormond was, by the machinations of his enemies, superseded in his government by Lord Roberts, who, being unpopular, was quickly replaced by Lord Berkeley, a creature of the king's favourite, Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Being amongst the most violent partizans of Rome, the severity of Berkeley appalled the more moderate of his party, who were

distinguished by the title of *Remonstrants* from a paper signed and presented to the king by some of the Irish bishops and clergy, styled "The Remonstrance of the Irish Catholics." In this they implored the benefits of the peace of 1648, disclaimed all allegiance to the pope or foreign princes, and declared it impious to maintain, "that any subject may kill a sovereign of a different religion." This paper was highly offensive to the more bigoted Romanists, who conceived a deadly animosity against the Remonstrants, and in Peter Talbot, created by the pope titular Archbishop of Dublin, they had an unrelenting enemy. Persuading Berkeley that his influence in Ireland was unlimited, he managed to procure for his party several indulgences which were forbidden by law; the Roman Catholics, encouraged by this, demanded the reversal of the act of settlement, on which the English parliament grew alarmed, recalled Berkeley, and, in 1671, sent over Lord Essex in his place, who discharged his office with strict integrity, till, in 1675, he was superseded by a governor little expected.

Charles had for some time been estranged from Ormond, and the loss of his sovereign's favour had emboldened Colonel Blood, a man of abandoned character, and who had lately been detected in an effort to steal the regalia, to make an attempt on that nobleman's life. As Ormond was returning from a public fête, Blood attacked him in his carriage, but whilst he deliberated whether he should kill him on the spot, or reserve him to be hanged at Tyburn, the domestics of the duke had happily time to come to their master's rescue. For private reasons, Charles desired that Blood should not be brought to justice, and he signified his will to Ormond, at the same time offering various excuses and explanations. "It

is enough," replied the duke with a calm dignity, "that I know his majesty's pleasure; if he pardon an attempt on his crown, I may well forgive one on my life."

The strictest investigation into Ormond's administration had been made by Lord Roberts, but it had been found unimpeachable. His adversaries, who laboured to have him publicly disgraced, instituted another inquiry, during the administration of Essex, into his conduct, which appeared but the nobler the more closely it was examined; yet the king, who in his heart revered the duke, in order to please that party to whom he had resigned himself, assumed a degree of stern coldness towards this excellent nobleman, who had served his family so faithfully; but so much embarrassed did he appear in the presence of him whom he would have condemned, that Buckingham one day said to him, "Sire, I wish to know whether it is the duke who is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty with the duke, for, of the two, you seem the most out of countenance."

Conscious of his integrity, Ormond appeared not to observe this coldness, but attended his sovereign daily, took his seat in council, intriguing with no faction for revenge, betraying no resentment, but continuing to speak his sentiments freely, comparing himself with much good temper to an old clock thrown by into a corner. "And yet," said he, "even this rusty machine sometimes speaks truth!" When Colonel Dillon Carey solicited his interest in some suit, declaring that he had no friend but God and his grace, "Alas! poor Carey," replied the duke, "thou couldest not have named two friends of less interest, or less respected at court!" On his paying a short visit to his Irish property, he was

enthusiastically received by the people, who revered his character, and admired his graceful and conciliating manners, and the coldness with which he was treated by Essex, only increased his popularity. At length, in April, 1677, he was surprised by an invitation to sup with the king. The interview was easy and cheerful, no business was discussed, but, at parting, Charles signified his intention of again employing him in Ireland. Next day he saw the duke approaching as usual in calm dignity to pay him his duty and homage. "Yonder comes Ormond," said Charles, "I have done all in my power to disoblige him and make him as discontented as others, but he will be loyal in spite of me! I must even employ him again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland!"

Once more, therefore, Ormond resumed his office of chief governor of that country.

Shortly after his return to Dublin, he was disturbed by tidings, that "the Popish plot" had reached Ireland, and was enjoined to proceed with a degree of severity, which he considered excessive, against *all* Roman Catholic subjects under his government. He acted, however, with temper, though with vigour. He secured the garrisons, and kept the army untainted; but, by this lenity offending the violent opposers of the Romanists, he was accused to the king of favouring Popery. Many attempts were made to obtain his removal, but he held his seat firmly till 1684, when he found, that a plan was in contemplation of which he could not conscientiously approve. Charles having subdued the party, who would have circumscribed his power within the limits of the constitution, indolently enjoying his triumph, committed the management of public affairs to the Duke of York. To maintain the superiority

which he had acquired, the duke represented to his brother the expediency of providing a military force implicitly obedient to his wishes, and for that purpose advised the new modelling of the Irish army, placing in it Roman Catholics only, who were represented by him as being devoted to the crown.

To carry this project into execution, it was necessary to remove Ormond, who had conducted himself with strict impartiality towards all parties ; he was to be succeeded by the Earl of Rochester, under restrictions, which made that nobleman at first hesitate to accept the office. The king seemed again disposed to change his measures and advisers, and everything respecting Ireland was suspended, when the death of Charles the Second, in 1685, produced a complete revolution in the politics of the kingdom.

The accession of James the Second, lately Duke of York, naturally inspired the Irish Roman Catholics with the most extravagant expectations. He now formally avowed his profession of their religion, which in fancy they saw triumph over all its adversaries, whilst they enjoyed the flattering prospect of power, consequence, and every advantage to be derived from a Romish sovereign. Ormond, whom the most violent of their party considered as an enemy, was removed from his government, with evident impatience of his continuing in it, even for the shortest time, and was directed to resign the sword immediately to two lords justices. The age and infirmities of the duke were assigned as the reasons for his removal ; and in public he affected to believe this to be the real cause. During his administration, a stately hospital had been erected near Dublin, for the reception of old soldiers ; hither he invited the military officers to an entertainment, and at the conclusion, holding his glass filled to the brim, he thus addressed them ;

“See, gentlemen!—they say at court I am old and doating; but my hand is steady, nor doth my heart fail; and I hope to convince some of them of their mistake. This is to the king’s health!”

All thoughts of employing Rochester had ended with the life of Charles the Second. He was advanced to the dignity of Lord High Treasurer of England; and Richard Talbot, brother to the Archbishop of Dublin, and a zealous patron of the Roman Catholics, was created Earl of Tyrconnel. James would gladly have raised him to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, but that he feared as yet to take a step so inimical to the Protestants, and, therefore, appointed to that office Lord Clarendon, the celebrated historian.

By degrees, however, Protestant public officers were displaced, to make room for those of the Romish persuasion. Sir Alexander Fitton, who had been convicted of forgery, was appointed chancellor, though he had been frequently heard to declare, that “chancery was above all law, and that no statute could set bounds to his conscience

The mayors, sheriffs, and magistrates, were nearly all Papists; and, as Protestants were little dealt with, many of the richest trading citizens removed to England, sensible that ruin would ensue to them from corporations so formed; and of those who remained, numbers were reduced to beggary. Tyrconnel, who was sent to Ireland to regulate the army, with a commission independent of the lord lieutenant, dismissed from it all the Protestants, replacing them by those who entertained the highest respect for the pope’s authority. The same partiality was shown in ecclesiastical affairs: orders were issued that the Roman Catholic clergy should not be molested in the exercise of their functions; their prelates were directed

to appear publicly in the habits of their order: the ministers of the Established Church were prohibited from touching on controversy in the pulpit, deprived of their tithes, which were applied to maintain the popish clergy, in direct opposition to the constitution; and at length James was contented to allow the pope once more to nominate to all the vacant bishoprics.

Alarmed by Tyrconnel's extravagance, and daily insulted by him, Clarendon remonstrated on the subject with the king, expressing, at the same time, with too much pliancy, his own desire of obeying him, though in a manner less violent. This temporising, however, availed him nothing; he was falsely accused of mal-administration, removed, contrary to a solemn promise of James, and Tyrconnel appointed in his stead, under the title of lord deputy, on his promising to pay an annual stipend to the crown from the profits of his situation. On this, the papists received still greater favours; the public seminaries were given up to them; they were encouraged to build monasteries; and the king, by letters patent, founded a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin, called "The Convent of his FIRST and Chief Royal Monastery of Gratia Dei."

Disgusted by James's open violation of the coronation oath, by which he stood pledged to support the Protestant religion, and by his conduct, which was in every particular contrary to the British constitution, as a Protestant state, almost the whole English nation had called upon William, Prince of Orange, to come forward as the Protestant champion of Christendom, and also to assert the right of his wife Mary, the eldest daughter of James the Second, to the throne which they justly considered her father to have forfeited.

To William the suffering Irish Protestants also now looked for redress, and a number of Protestant officers, who had been capriciously deprived of their commissions, sought shelter in Holland, and disclosed their grievances to the prince, who, at length, took into consideration the united entreaty of both countries, that he would lead an army against their faithless monarch.

When the king heard the first intelligence of his intended enterprise against England, he treated it with derision. The Romish party appeared to despise the prince, and Nugent, the chief justice, spoke with delight of "English rebels hung up every where in clusters." The news was received in the same manner in Ireland. Tidings, however, were soon conveyed, that William had landed in England, where James's subjects were rapidly deserting him, on which his Irish adherents were thrown into the greatest consternation, and Tyrconnel stooped even to flatter the Protestants.

A report that the Roman Catholics intended a general massacre, was circulated through Dublin, which suddenly became a scene of deplorable confusion; the guards of the deputy stood astonished, while a crowd of men, women, and children rushed to the shore, imploring to be conveyed "from the daggers of the Irish." In vain Tyrconnel sent messengers to remonstrate with them, their voices were drowned in the clamour of those who were fortunate enough to reach some vessels which lay in the harbour, and the shrieks of others who believed themselves left behind to be slaughtered.

In the province of Ulster, where the Protestants were most numerous, they collected the arms which were still left amongst them, and already meditating the design of rising against the present government,

flocked in numbers for shelter to Londonderry, which became a stronghold to the fugitives. On the first alarm of an invasion, Tyrconnel recalled the garrison of that city to Dublin, consisting of a Protestant regiment commanded by Lord Mountjoy, which it was intended to replace by a Roman Catholic regiment. The citizens were almost equally alarmed at the idea of admitting or of shutting it out; and while they remained in this state of vacillation, nine determined youths, who were apprenticed to different trades, with enthusiastic ardour drew their swords, snatched up the keys, raised the drawbridge, and locked the gates. The spirit of resistance was quickly caught by the rest of the citizens, who unanimously declared their intention of opposing the entrance of "King James's army."

Tyrconnel feeling himself daily growing more unpopular, seemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom: he professed that he was ready to resign his government, and waited only till it should be demanded from him, peevishly asking, "if he was to cast the sword of state over the castle wall." The English subjects in Ireland were anxious to make their peace with the Prince of Orange, and their steady and judicious friend Ormond being lately dead, they prevailed on Lord Clarendon to present a memorial expressive of their loyalty; but Clarendon was by no means acceptable to William, who considered him lukewarm to his interests—an address coming through such hands was not likely to be very graciously received, and, accordingly the prince merely returned to it this concise reply, "I thank you, I will take care of you."

William strongly desiring to obtain possession of Dublin, commissioned Hamilton, a Roman Catholic officer, who had been sent out of Ireland on the first

alarm of an invasion, and, therefore, was in some degree a prisoner, to practise with Tyrconnel and induce him to resign his government. Hamilton, glad to regain his liberty, willingly undertook the mission; but, instead of performing it according to the wishes of his employer, treacherously advised the lord deputy to maintain his station, at the same time counselling him to dissemble, and express his entire readiness to join the Prince of Orange.

The government of Derry had been committed by James II., to Colonel Lundy, a Roman Catholic, and William, though he suspected his loyalty, was obliged by necessity, to retain him. While the garrison prepared for their defence, they were alarmed by hearing that James had cast himself into the arms of the French king, Louis the Fourteenth, and was preparing to invade Ireland with fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire ships, under the command of Marshal Rosen. Louis offered to assist James with a considerable army; but seeming to have imbibed for the moment some of the spirit of his generous protector, he answered, that "he would recover his kingdom by the aid of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." The princes parted with mutual expressions of affection, and Louis, to cheer the gloom of his royal brother, gaily expressed a wish, "that he might never see him more."

James arrived at Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1688, and was soon joined by Tyrconnel, whom he had raised to a dukedom; on the 24th the king made a triumphant entry into Dublin, followed by a splendid train of British, French, and Irish Roman Catholics. He was met by the magistrates, and the whole body of popish ecclesiastics, while the host was borne in solemn procession, and devoutly adored by the king, and those who desired his success

The reduction of the northern counties was the first object of James's attention, and after much discussion, it was decided that Derry should be reduced by a regular siege. The inhabitants having notice of this, resolved with equal determination to defend their city; but when they called on Lundy to come forward and direct them, they found that he had abandoned his post, and in a little time they were shocked and amazed to discover, that in case of a siege being commenced, a capitulation had been determined on by him and the town council. The indignation of the citizens exceeded all bounds; they exclaimed against the governor, the council, and every suspected officer, and rushing to the walls pointed their cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take possession of the city. Lundy now concealed himself in his house, and at last, expecting more forbearance from the enemy, with whom he had tampered, than the friends whom he would have betrayed, he bribed a sentinel to let him pass through the gates, and made his escape to the ships, concealing himself under a load of match. The garrison lost no time in filling his place, and chose for their governors, Major Baker and George Walker, a clergyman of the county of Tyrone, who, at his own expense, had raised a regiment, conceiving that the peril of the times called on him to come forward actively in defence of religion. Twenty-six clergymen cheerfully shared the dangers of the siege, and by turns collected the people daily in the cathedral, where, by their exhortations, they animated their hearers to undertake that defence on which they implored a blessing. "It did beget," says Walker in his interesting narrative, "some disorder and confusion when we looked about us and

saw what we were doing, our enemies all about us, our friends running from us; a garrison we had, composed of a number of poor people frightened from their own houses, and seeming more ready to hide themselves than to face an enemy. No engineers to instruct us in our work, no fire works, not so much as a hand grenade to annoy the enemy, not a gun well mounted in the whole town; that we had so many mouths to feed, and not above ten days' provision for them, in the opinion of our former governors. It was soon obvious enough what a dangerous undertaking we had ventured on, but the resolution and courage of our people, and the necessity we were under, and the great confidence and dependence among us on God Almighty, that he would take care of us and preserve us, made us overlook all those difficulties."

For eleven days James continued his assaults, without producing much effect, when, impatient of his disappointments, he left the camp, and returned to Dublin, querulously exclaiming, that "if his army had been English, they would have brought him the town piecemeal!"

The brave defenders of Derry were soon afflicted with disease and famine, in its most hideous shape. What extremities they suffered may be deduced from the nature and prices of the articles on which they were reduced to feed:—*Horse-flesh* sold for 6d. a pound; *quarter of a dog*, 5s. 6d.; *a cat*, 4s. 6d.; *a rat*, 1s.; *a mouse*, 6d.; a handful of *sea-wrack*, 2d.! Meanwhile "the bombs ploughed up the streets and shattered the houses, so that there was no staying within doors, but all flocked to the walls and remote parts of the town." In this emergency, a fleet of thirty sail appeared in Lough Foyle, on the shore of which lake part of the city is built, but in vain it

tried to get nearer; a boom, or barricade, made of vast beams of fir, fastened together with iron chains, and strengthened by a cable of twelve inches in thickness, having been placed across the Lough, so as effectually to stop the passage of any vessel. At length, two messengers arrived, who had swam across the Lough, the first having put his letter into a piece of bladder, in which were two bullets, that if the enemy took him he might drop it suddenly into the water, whilst the other had fastened the precious paper withinside a cloth button; but the letters carried at such hazard, read with such anxiety, conveyed only the mournful intelligence, that General Kirke had provisions to relieve the town, but that his ship in vain attempted to reach it, and the besieged had the agony of seeing him sail away, having been either alarmed at the accounts of the number of the enemy, or too indifferent to their cause to make any zealous attempt to relieve them. The distress soon became appalling: tallow, starch, dried and salted hides, were considered luxuries. "We were under so great necessity," says Walker, "that we had nothing left, unless we could prey upon each other; and one fat gentleman, conceiving himself in the greatest danger, and fancying several of the garrison looked on him with a greedy eye, thought fit to hide himself for three days together." By the death of Major Baker the command devolved entirely on the gallant Walker, and to him General Rosen sent terrific threats of vengeance, ending with a menace, which, cruel as he was, it seemed incredible that he would execute. He declared that he would rob all Protestants, protected and unprotected, who were related to the besieged, and drive them under the walls of Derry, where they should perish in their

sight. The garrison remaining firm, Rosen put his dreadful threat into execution, and chased some thousands of men, women, and children into the space under the walls. The besieged fired on them, not knowing who they were, "but the shot, as if directed by Providence, touched not their own, but killed those of the enemy who drove them forward. With self-devotion, equal to that of the citizens, this unfortunate multitude implored their friends not to consider their sufferings, but to defend the city to the last. The besieged erecting a gallows on the walls, to signify their intention of hanging the prisoners, who were of considerable consequence, if their afflicted companions were not speedily admitted to return to their homes — "the sight of the gallows, and the importunity of the friends of the captives prevailed, and the Protestants were allowed to return to their habitations."

At length, on the 30th of July, 1688, Kirke made a resolute effort to relieve the city, and two ships laden with provisions, convoyed by a frigate, advanced in view of the besiegers and the besieged. "The enemy fired desperately on them from the fort of Culmore, but they bravely returned the fire. The frigate made a little stop at the boom, occasioned by her rebound after striking and breaking it. The enemy, on this, set up a loud, and to our ears, a dreadful hurra, fired all their guns on her, and prepared boats to board her, but a broadside was fired by her, and the shock loosened her, so that she got clear and passed the boom. At length she got to us, to the inexplicable joy and transport of the distressed garrison, for we only reckoned upon two days' life, and had but nine lean horses left, and one pint of meal to each man. The 7,500 soldiers with which we began, were re-

duced to 4,300, whereof one-fourth part were, by hunger and fatigue, rendered unserviceable. On the last of July, the enemy ran away in the night-time, robbing and burning all before them for several miles; and thus, after 105 days, being closely besieged by near 20,000 men, of whom between 8,000 and 9,000 were lost, God Almighty was pleased, in our greatest extremity, to send relief, to the admiration and joy of all good people.”*

In 1689, James assembled a parliament in Dublin, which proved unable to grant money sufficient for his purposes. He therefore issued a proclamation imposing a tax of £12,000 a month on all chattel property, the same sum having already been permitted by parliament to be levied by him on lands. Some of his counsellors, venturing to remonstrate against this arbitrary proceeding, he silenced them, exclaiming imperiously, “If I cannot do this, I can do nothing!” He soon proceeded further, for, in defiance of law, he established a coinage of brass, copper, and still baser metals, in Dublin and Limerick. Old cannon, broken bells, household utensils of tin and pewter were assiduously collected, and from every *fourpence* worth of such vile materials, pieces were coined to the amount of *five pounds* in nominal value. Old debts of a thousand pounds were discharged by coins amounting to only thirty shillings of intrinsic worth. His soldiers were paid in this money, and it was poured upon Protestant traders. The king promised that, when it should be desired, he would make full satisfaction in gold and silver, but the people had no opportunity of judging whether he would perform his promise;

* Walker’s Narrative of the Siege of Derry.

and, in the meantime, the effect of this measure was ruinous, as it caused a general stagnation in trade, and brought extreme poverty on the country.

The Roman Catholic clergy had made various attempts to get the university of Dublin into their hands. The king, availing himself of a power given in the statutes, introduced many popish fellows, and to punish the provost for opposing the entrance of a person of decidedly bad character, an annual pension, which had been granted by King James the First, was stopped by Tyrconnel. The collegiate body shared deeply in the general calamity; no rents could be received; their pension from the exchequer was withheld, and their daily food purchased by the sale of part of their plate. Still, they undauntedly refused admission to the objectionable candidate, and, in consequence, a garrison was placed in the college, the fellows and scholars were forcibly ejected, the communion plate, books, and furniture seized, their chapel converted into a magazine, and their chambers into prisons. At length, Dr. Moore, a liberal Roman Catholic, was named provost, and by him the library and manuscripts were preserved from the soldiery, and his opposition prevented the king from conferring the college on the Jesuits.

The Protestant clergy were, for the most part, deprived of the means of subsistence, as they could obtain no tithes from Roman Catholics, and recover no dues from non-conformists. A proclamation was issued, confining all those of the reformed religion to their respective parishes, which, in fact, excluded numbers from public worship, as in several parts of Ireland two or more parishes contained but one church; and at length an order was published, that

no more than five Protestants should meet together, even for prayer, under pain of death.

King William, towards whom the oppressed Protestants of Ireland had looked with fond hope, had been prevented by various embarrassments from giving them more timely assistance; but, in August, 1689, he sent over a large army to Ireland, under the command of the veteran duke, Schomberg. James entertained such exalted ideas of that general, that he had little hope from opposing him. No effort was made to prevent his landing, which he did on the 13th of August, near Bangor, in the county of Down. He speedily laid siege to, and reduced the neighbouring town of Carrickfergus. Dundalk was abandoned by King James's troops, and Newry burned, to prevent its falling into Schomberg's hands. Notwithstanding, however, this brilliant commencement, the success of the duke was not so rapid as had been expected. He had passed through a tract full of bogs and mountains, his men were exhausted by a fatiguing march in rain and tempest, cold and hunger, through a country which dispirited them by its aspect, rendered more unpromising than usual by the inclemency of the season. Several of his army had sunk under these severities; the sick languished on the road-sides, a burning fever raged amongst the troops, and the attention of the humane commander was soon entirely fixed on the distresses of his soldiers. He ordered that huts should be built for the invalids, but those who were yet well, slighted his commands in listless despondency. Every day they became more and more habituated to scenes of misery, till, at length, they seemed to lose all vestiges of humanity; their comrades died unpitied, the survivors used their bodies for seats or shelter, and when the dead were carried to interment, murmured at

being deprived of their conveniences. The English were irritated at results so different from what they had expected : and William, at length, resolved to go over and conduct the Irish war in person. Clothes, ammunition, and provisions arrived from England to the distressed army, with 5,000 troops from Denmark ; James, also, had been reinforced by as many allies from France, and both parties prepared vigorously for action.

On the 14th of June, 1690, William, attended by a large train of nobles, landed at Carrickfergus, where he was received with transports of joy, and presented by Walker, to whom he was particularly gracious, with an address from the northern clergy. He resolved at once to take the field, and while his activity exhilarated his soldiers, his consideration for them won their affection. When an order for wine for his own table was one day presented to him for signature, he passionately exclaimed, that his men should be first provided. " Let them not want," said he, " I shall drink water." Impatient to confront James face to face, William bent his course southward by rapid marches, through Belfast, Lisburn, Hillsborough, and Loughbrickland, where he met with an enthusiastic reception. Six days had passed from the time of his landing, when James received the first intelligence that he was on his way to attack him, and immediately marched with the French infantry to join the main body of his army which lay on the banks of the river Boyne, near Drogheda. James resolved to risk a general engagement, expressing great satisfaction, that he had at last the opportunity of fighting one fair battle for the crown. At the same time he dispatched an officer to Waterford, to prepare a ship for conveying him

to France in case his affairs should take an unfortunate turn.

On the last day of June, William's army marched forward in three columns, and the king, at the head of his advanced guard, approaching within musket-shot of a ford opposite to a village called Old Bridge, sat down to rest himself on a rising ground. A party of horsemen was detached from the enemy, who, unobserved, planted two pieces of cannon in a corner of the field, and the moment that William remounted his horse, fired a shot which killed a soldier who was in line with the king; this was succeeded by another shot which grazed his majesty's shoulder, when a shout of joy rang through the Irish camp. Mr. Coningsby, afterwards Lord Coningsby, riding up, immediately applied his handkerchief to the wound, but William, with great self-possession, remounted his charger, coolly observing, "There was no necessity that the bullet should have come any nearer." The news, that the monarch was no more, was conveyed to Dublin, and wafted to Paris, where Louis received it with ecstasy, and the guns of the Bastile proclaimed the meanness of his triumph.

At midnight William rode through his camp, with torches, inspected every regiment, and issued his final orders. The army was divided into three parts, under the direction of the king, Duke Schomberg, and the young count, his son; and these divisions were ordered to cross the river Boyne, early on the succeeding morning. The body commanded by the count effected the passage without any opposition, but the centre was attacked with fury, and lost one of their leaders, a brave French officer, of the name of Caillemotte, (son to the Marquis de Rouvigné), who, as he lay bleeding in the arms of four soldiers, who bore him to the English camp, cried, with failing

strength—"A la gloire ! mes enfans ! a la gloire !" Duke Schomberg, who had waited to support his friend, on any dangerous emergency, now rushed into the river, and placing himself at the head of Caillemotte's division, exclaimed, as he pointed to some French regiments in their front—"Allons, messieurs ! Voilà vos persecuteurs !" These words were his last. The Irish cavalry, returning from the pursuit of some of Caillemotte's forces, wounded Schomberg in the head. He sunk in the river ; and as with shouts of triumph they hurried him towards their camp, one of his own party shot him dead. About the same time fell the valiant Walker ; whose anxiety for his country's welfare had hurried him, perhaps unnecessarily, into the engagement.

William had now crossed the Boyne at the head of the English, Dutch, and Danish cavalry ; and, with his sword unsheathed, animated his army, while James stood inactive on the hill of Dunore, surrounded by his guards. Some of his forces soon retreated thither, but once more facing about, they made a desperate and successful charge. The battle soon raged generally ; and William, who mingled in the hottest part, was constantly exposed to danger. One of his own troops, mistaking him for an enemy, presented a pistol to his head. "What," said he, putting it calmly aside, "do you not know your friends ?" The presence of such a leader gave double vigour to his soldiers, and the Irish infantry were finally repulsed. General Hamilton made a desperate effort to turn the fortune of the day, at the head of his cavalry, but they, too, were routed, and their commander was brought prisoner to William. On the king inquiring, "whether the Irish would fight more ?" "Upon my honour," said Hamilton, "I

believe they will, for they have a good body of horse.” William, looking for a moment at the man who had betrayed him in his private transactions with Tyrconnel, in a sullen and contemptuous tone, exclaimed, “Honour—*your* honour!” General Hamilton’s assertion was found to be incorrect. Lauzun, one of Louis’s officers, rode up to James, who still remained at Dunore, in cowardly inactivity, and advised him to retreat, as the day was lost. Upon this he marched to Duleek, at the head of the regiment commanded by the Irish general Sarsfield, and arrived in Dublin, in great disorder, escorted by about two hundred horse. Lady Tyrconnel, who, with the rest of the citizens, had heard that James was victorious, flew to meet him, and begged to know what he would have for supper? “By my faith, madam,” replied he, “those who have got such a breakfast, have but little stomach for supper!”

On the following day, assembling the Roman Catholic magistrates and council, he informed them, that in England his army had deserted him, that in Ireland they had fled in the hour of danger; that both he and they must therefore shift for themselves; that he was going to France, where he would not cease to work for their deliverance; and in the meantime, that he advised their surrendering to the “Prince of Orange,” whom he understood to be merciful. Justly irritated by this speech, the Irish army, who had made a brave defence, and to whom he had shown the example of flying, retorted, that while William encouraged his troops by word and deed, James had stood at a safe distance, a quiet spectator of the contest. “Exchange kings,” said they, “and we will fight the battle over again.”

The indignation of the Irish army was further

increased, when they saw the prince, who upbraided them with cowardice, fly precipitately to Waterford, breaking down the bridges, to prevent a pursuit. He embarked for France, and his Irish royalty was for ever at an end.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WILLIAM III.

1690 TO 1702.

MOST of James's party marched through Dublin, which was threatened with all the evils of anarchy, for the Protestant prisoners who had been released were with difficulty withheld from revenging themselves with the utmost violence on the Romanists. William, however, having received the submission of the townsmen of Drogheda, soon reached the capital, and at St. Patrick's Cathedral returned public thanks for his victory. He soon afterwards entertained at his court many Irish nobles, who hastened to pay their duty to him, and amongst others Almericus, baron of Kinsale. On his one day attending William's levee, the king, observing that he kept his hat on, sent an officer to inquire if he was aware that he was in the presence of royalty; the earl replied, that "he knew very well in what honourable company he found himself, and that he wore his hat, *because he stood in the presence of the king of England.*" On being requested to explain himself further, he approached the king, and said, "May it please your majesty, my name is De Courcy, and my appearance thus in your majesty's presence, is to assert the ancient privilege of my family, granted to Sir John de

Courcy, earl of Ulster, and his heirs, by John, king of England, for him and his successors for ever." William answered graciously, that he remembered having heard that such a privilege had been conferred on his celebrated ancestor, and gave him his hand to kiss; his lordship paid his obeisance, and taking off his hat, remained with his head uncovered.

William soon published a declaration of pardon and protection to all the humbler class, who would surrender, and return to their obedience. The leaders of the rebellion were not so leniently treated. Commissioners, appointed by him, seized on estates without mercy; and the injudicious impatience of his English adherents to secure forfeitures, served to confirm the Roman Catholic party in their aversion to the new government. They prepared to renew the war, which William was impatient to terminate. Wexford, Clonmel, Waterford, and Duncannon, surrendered to him, but Douglas, his general, whom he had sent against the Irish in the more western quarters, summoning the town of Athlone, a stronghold, situated on the Shannon, to follow their example—"Give your captain this answer from me!" exclaimed the brave old governor, Colonel Grace, firing a pistol at the messenger; and the reply was followed up by a defence so spirited, that Douglas formed the inglorious resolution of retiring under the shade of midnight, and after a perilous march, regained the royal army.

The king himself advanced towards Limerick, which he was determined to reduce, and which, with an army of three thousand Frenchmen, Boileau, their general, was equally determined to defend. General Sarsfield, who commanded the Irish troops, having learned from a deserter, that the city must soon be

reduced by a train of artillery, expected by King William, formed a plan of seizing that train. With a chosen body of cavalry he waited anxiously for the appearance of the ordnance, and at night, when the main body of the convoy was at rest, and their horses at grass, Sarsfield rushed on the party, which he slaughtered or dispersed; then collecting the cannon, carriages, and waggons, he filled the guns with powder, fixing their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, set fire to it. The dreadful explosion announced the success of his enterprise, and Sarsfield returned triumphantly to Limerick. William resolved to continue the siege of that city, and succeeded in making a breach in the walls; but the soldiers who rushed in, were either killed or obliged to draw back, desperately wounded. One of his regiments seized a battery, but the powder catching fire, they were almost all blown into the air; and the king at length ordering a retreat, retired with his forces by slow marches, unmolested by the garrison.

This was the last of William's personal enterprises in Ireland. He returned to England, leaving the civil government in the hands of the Lords Sidney and Coningsby, while the Counts Solmes and Ginckle commanded the army. But a greater general than these now came forward, in the Earl of Marlborough, who, impatient of being detained in inactivity in England, proposed under certain conditions, to reduce Cork and Kinsale, which still held out against the king's authority. The offer was accepted; the army, led by him, was strengthened by reinforcements from Ginckle and the Duke of Wirtemberg. Cork was attacked first: after a desperate effort a breach was made, and a struggle ensued, in which the Duke of Grafton, the most worthy of

Charles the Second's sons, was mortally wounded, fighting on the side of the English. At length, the garrison, whose ammunition was exhausted, consented to become prisoners of war. The Protestants were liberated, and the papists commanded, under pain of death, to surrender their arms.

Kinsale was next summoned to capitulate, on which the governor carelessly replied, that "it would be time enough to talk on that subject a month hence;" however, being vigorously pressed for ten days, he was compelled to surrender, and the garrison, with their arms and baggage, was conducted to Limerick. The king did ample justice to the merit of Marlborough, who had so well redeemed his promise, and the people of England were delighted with the success of their native general.

After the siege of Limerick had been raised, General Boileau had joined his countrymen at Galway, where they waited only for transports to convey them to France. The Irish rejoiced at their departure, having been mortified by the partiality shown by James to these foreigners, and affronted by the superiority assumed by "fellows who strutted about in their leathern trunks," at they called the great boots which were worn by their Gallic allies.

On the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, Ginckle ventured to withdraw his troops to winter quarters, but they suffered perpetually from the attacks of the wild Irish, known by the name of *Rapparees*, who, in earlier times had been designated *Creaghts*, and who, issuing from their retreats with their wives and children, roved about in quest of subsistence, plundering every district which they visited.

In the spring of 1691, the garrison of Mullingar, a town in the county of West Meath, on which the

enemy meditated an attack, was reinforced by Ginckle, who, shortly after, gained a victory near Ballymore, in the same county, which considerably damped the spirits of the Irish; but, in the beginning of June, the hopes of James's party were again raised by the appearance of Monsieur St. Ruth, a French general, who landed at Limerick with a moderate body of men, and a commission from James the Second to supersede Sarsfield in his command, to which that officer's haughty spirit was not reconciled even by the title of Earl of Lucan.

St. Ruth resolved on a defensive war, and with the main body of his army took his station near Athlone, which consisted of two towns connected by a bridge; one of these towns was in the hands of the English, the other, Ginckle resolved to reduce. Quitting Mullingar he accordingly marched thither, and having been defeated in many attempts to enter it, determined upon making a desperate effort, and on a signal given by tolling the church bell, his advanced guard plunged into the Shannon which separated the English army from the hostile town. Mackay, one of the commanders, waded by the side of his men, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, having his horse shot under him, was conveyed through on the shoulders of his grenadiers. The enemy discharged their guns furiously, but amidst fire and smoke the army of William advanced, gained the opposite bank, and mounted the breaches next to the river. They hastened to the assistance of their friends, who were laying planks over the bridge which had been broken, while the Irish fled to their camp with astonishment, and not without considerable slaughter. On being told that the enemy were crossing the ford, St. Ruth exclaimed, "It is impossible!" Sarsfield calmly

replied, that nothing was too difficult for English courage. St. Ruth persisted in his incredulity, and on being informed, that the English were in the town, passionately ordered that they should be driven out of it. This, however, being impossible, he retired, the French officers exclaiming against the Irish, and the Irish execrating the French general and his countrymen.

On the 10th of July Ginckle marched from Athlone along the river Suck, by the heights of Kilcommedan, and met St. Ruth, who had pitched his camp at a village of Roscommon, called Aughrim. It was now to be decided whether Ireland was to be reduced finally to England, or to be once more exposed to a tedious intestine war. Ginckle, with 18,000 men, was to attack an army of 25,000. St. Ruth rode to every squadron and battalion exhorting them to fight for their religion, their liberty, and their estates, "for which he himself had displayed such zeal as the powers of hell and heresy could never shake." The priests hurried through the ranks, labouring to inspire the soldiers with the same sentiments, and obliging them to swear on the sacrament that they would not desert their colours. On the 12th of July, at noon, the English army advanced in as good order as the broken and uneven ground would admit. The advantage was for some time on the side of their adversaries, which St. Ruth perceiving, exclaimed in an ecstasy of joy, "Now will I drive the English to the very walls of Dublin!" and, on seeing the cavalry of Ginckle forcing their way through a narrow and dangerous pass, he said in a tone of much admiration—"They are brave fellows, is it not a pity they should be so much exposed?"

Affairs, however, soon took an unexpected turn, and St. Ruth perceiving that the fortune of the day

depended on making an impression on the enemy's cavalry, galloped from his station; and, having directed one of his batteries where to point their fire, led a body of horse gallantly forward. At this critical moment he fell; his corpse was conveyed out of sight, but the intelligence of his death ran through the lines; the Irish were dismayed and thrown into confusion; and the English pressing forward, drove the enemy to their camp, and forced them to fly precipitately from a field which their valour had nearly made their own. Seven thousand of the Irish and their allies, and as many hundred of the English had fallen, the cannon, ammunition, and baggage were taken, and eleven standards and thirty-two stand of colours were destined as a present to the queen. Such was the crowning victory of the English army; in a few days Galway capitulated on honourable terms, and Limerick alone held out against the victorious William. That city had become a scene of contention and discord; some of its garrison desiring to fight to the last, at the head of which party were General Sarsfield, and the French commanders, some being anxious to save the remains of their country by submission, and all contending together with an acrimony which was increased by mortification. In the midst of this Tyrconnel, who had long been thrown aside, and had become an object of hatred to even his own party, expired in the bitterness of vexation. The English were hardly less divided in opinion than their adversaries; a few of the commanders advanced to Limerick in full confidence of success; but many of them recollecting the failure of the former attempt, felt the deepest despondency. Perceiving that the only effectual means of accomplishing his purpose was to invest Limerick on all sides, Ginckle determined to gain if possible the opposite bank of the

Shannon, which vast river flowed between him and the city, and to conceal his design, he gave such orders as indicated an intention of raising the siege. The Irish, with exclamations of joy saw his batteries dismounted, and lulled in perfect security, never suspected danger, until a bridge of ten boats was almost completed in the darkness of night. A considerable body of forces was conveyed by this means into an island, between which, and the mainland the river was fordable, but still great difficulties remaining in the way of reducing the city, Ginckle issued a declaration promising pardon and restitution of their estates to such of the garrison and inhabitants as should submit within eight days from that time. This measure, however, not being attended by any immediate effect, at length the general, with a second body of cavalry and infantry, crossed the bridge of boats, and began the assault. The conflict was for some hours desperately maintained, when the English broke, routed and pursued the enemy; before the carnage could be stopped, six hundred carcasses filled the bridge called Thomond bridge, even to the battlements, while about an hundred and fifty more were forced into the river.

On the 23rd of September, when the garrison had, for many hours, fired from their batteries with uncommon fury, they beat a parley. The besiegers granted a truce for three days, to give time for the horse, which was encamped at some distance, to take advantage of the projected capitulation; and on the last morning of the truce, the Irish leaders proposed terms on which they offered to surrender. They required an act of indemnity for all past offences, with full enjoyment of the estates they had formerly possessed—freedom for the Roman Catholic worship, and an establishment of one Romish priest

in each parish ; they demanded that Roman Catholics should be declared fully qualified for every office, civil and military, admitted into corporations, and that an Irish army should be paid and kept up in the same manner with the king's other troops, if they should be willing to serve.

Ginckle rejected these terms, and gave orders for new batteries to be raised, when, by a second deputation, he was desired to propose such conditions as he could venture to grant. The season was far advanced, the continuance of the siege dangerous, and its event precarious, he, therefore, consented that all the Irish Roman Catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles the Second, and promised that the magistrates should endeavour to procure them further security in this particular, when a parliament should be convened. He engaged that all who were included in the capitulation, should enjoy their estates, and pursue their employments, freely, "as in the reign of the same King Charles ;" that their gentry should be allowed arms, and should be required to take no oath except that of allegiance. The garrison accepted these concessions as the basis of a treaty, and on the first of October, the lords-justices arrived in the camp ; on the third, the capitulation was finally adjusted, and signed by the chief governors and the general, not many days before a French fleet appeared in the Shannon with troops, arms and provisions for the relief of Limerick.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, the English parliament began to exercise a supreme authority over Ireland, and passed a bill in 1691 for excluding Roman Catholics from both houses of parliament. Three years afterwards the English parliament passed an act for the purpose of annihilating the

woollen manufactures of Ireland, and to prevent her from exporting wool to any country but England. Another statute was enacted, resuming seventy-six grants made by the kings of the forfeited estates in Ireland.



With the capitulation of Limerick, terminated the efforts of James's partisans to serve his cause in Ireland.

That weak and unhappy monarch retired to the court of St. Germain, where, sunk into the extremes of bigotry and superstition, he seemed entirely to have relinquished the hope, and almost the wish, to recover his former greatness. He had been actually admitted into the society of the Jesuits; and had rarely failed, during the latter period of his life, making a visit annually to the monastery of La Trappe, practising there the same austerities, which are en-

joined upon the monks themselves, by the rules of that rigid order. He kept very severe fasts, and regularly, upon a certain day, bound his body with a sharp-pointed iron chain. He assisted at the choir hours, except at night. He eat nothing but eggs, raisins, and pulse, and spent his time in long meditations and spiritual conferences with the abbot, and his confessor, whom he took there with him.

At St. Germain's he ordinarily heard two masses daily, and on all the great festivals, two masses and vespers. During Lent, he had sermons in his chapel thrice a week; and he, with his queen, went every year on foot with the procession of the host (or sacrament) through the town of St. Germain's.

In the beginning of the year 1701, his health visibly declined, and in April, he drank the mineral waters of Bourbon without receiving any benefit. During his last illness, the king of France came to visit him at St. Germain's, and seemed much touched with his condition. The dying monarch, raising himself in his bed, expressed, in faint accents, his gratitude to "his most Christian majesty," for the numerous instances of friendship he had received from him. Louis told him, that he did not yet know the extent of the kindness he intended for him and his family, for, that in the event of his decease, he would acknowledge the prince, his son, as king of Great Britain. On hearing this, James appeared overwhelmed with surprise and joy, and said, "he had nothing more to ask or wish." Then calling his son, he exhorted him to continue stedfast in the Roman Catholic faith; and faintly adding, that he forgave all his enemies, not excepting the Prince of Orange, and the Princess of Denmark, he breathed his last on the 16th of September, 1701, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER XIX.

ANNE—GEORGE I.—GEORGE II.

1702 TO 1760.

WILLIAM who had survived Queen Mary, dying without children in 1702, was succeeded by Anne, the youngest daughter of James the Second, in whose reign the disputes of the two great factions known by the names of *Whigs* and *Tories* prevailed in Ireland as well as in England. Those epithets were at first terms of contempt bestowed on each other by the parties which divided the kingdom in the reign of Charles the Second, but they gradually lost their offensive signification; the appellation of *Tories* came to be applied by themselves as well as others to those who especially desired to support the powers of the crown and the establishment of the national religion; while that of *Whigs* was given to persons who desired the extension of popular freedom, both in church and state. The *Whigs* accused the *Tories* of wishing to exalt the power of the crown at the expense of the just rights and privileges of the people; while the *Tories* affirmed that the principles of the *Whigs* were inconsistent with the preservation of the established religion and government.

In the spring of 1703, a bill to prevent the further growth of popery, was presented by the Irish parliament to the Duke of Ormond, then lord lieutenant, to be transmitted to England for legal sanction. By this bill, the estates of the Romanists were divided into equal shares amongst those of their children who were of the same persuasion, and who were forbidden to be educated in the country. The English cabinet added a clause. rendering it impossible for any per-

son to hold public offices in Ireland, who should not receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church; and by that clause, with which the bill was passed, the *dissenters*, or Protestants who differed in some points from those of the Church of England, were grievously offended, as by it the disqualification extended to them equally with the Roman Catholics.

The steady loyalty of the University of Dublin was rewarded, in 1709, by a grant of five thousand pounds, with which the library was built. In the following year the Irish peers proposed a union with England, but the measure was coldly received by the British parliament.

By the death of Anne, in 1715, the crown devolved upon George, Elector of Hanover, son to Sophia, grand-daughter of James the First, being the next person of the royal blood who was not disabled from reigning by being a Roman Catholic. His title was fully recognized by the Irish parliament, who set a price upon the head of the Pretender, son of James the Second, who made an ineffectual struggle for the Crown of Great Britain, and attainted the Duke of Ormond for taking up arms in his cause. He was the only Irishman of consequence who did so, inasmuch that in a speech from the lords-justices to parliament, they declared "that it was with no small satisfaction they observed the peace which that kingdom, formerly the seat of so many rebellions, enjoyed, whilst in England the enemies of the king had sought to disturb his government by espousing the part of the Pretender."

The Whigs had now the ascendancy in parliament; and, being favourable to the dissenters from the Established Church, procured the passing of an act, in 1719, exempting the latter from certain penalties

to which they had been subjected. In the same year a party, styling itself "The Patriots," and headed by Jonathan Swift, the celebrated Dean of St. Patrick's, was formed in Ireland, where it joined the Tories, its avowed object being to act as a check to the ministry. Swift had already distinguished himself by various writings—more particularly by some tracts on political subjects—and public attention was drawn still more towards him by the following occurrence.

Copper money becoming scarce in Ireland, a patent was granted, in 1724, to a man of the name of Wood, for the coinage of halfpence and farthings, to the amount of £108,000. This coin was, however, represented as being so defective in weight and quality, that the value of a nominal shilling was not more than that of a penny. "People of every religion and party," wrote Boulter, the primate of all Ireland, "are alike set against Wood's halfpence—the apprehension of the loss they shall suffer, if they are introduced, has too much cooled the zeal of numbers that before were well affected." The ruinous consequences of the measure were so ably shown in "*The Drapier*," or "*Drapier's Letters*," written by Dean Swift, that a reward of three hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the author, by Lord Carteret, the lord lieutenant, who desired to prosecute him. But the popularity of the cause frustrated his intention: the general aversion to the coinage was so great, that the scheme was abandoned, and the patent was revoked in the following year.

In 1727, George the Second succeeded his father, and shortly after the accession of the new monarch, a terrible famine broke out in the north of Ireland, in consequence of which, during this and the following

year, Ulster suffered deplorably from a scarcity of provisions, which soon became so great, that barley was, in some inland places, sold for six shillings a bushel, and oatmeal became twice or thrice the usual price. "When I went my last visitation," says Primate Boulter, "we met all the roads full of whole families, that had left their homes to beg abroad, since their own neighbourhood had nothing to support them."

On examining into the cause of this distress the primate discovered that it was owing to the great disproportion of land given up to pasturage, which so much exceeded that allotted to agriculture, that in the finest counties of Ulster "there was neither house nor *corn field* to be seen within ten or fifteen miles' travelling." To remedy this evil, he brought in a bill for the encouragement of tillage, by which every proprietor was obliged to plough five acres out of each hundred that he possessed; the bill was passed, as well as another, providing for the better employment of the poor, and their condition was further improved by the king's generously remitting his hereditary duties on the wool and yarn which were exported to England. Many emigrated to America, beguiled, as Primate Boulter stated, "by agents from the colonies, who deluded the people with stories of great plenty, and estates to be had for going for; and the people," he adds, "that go hence, make complaints of the oppression they suffer here, not from government, but from their fellow subjects, as well as the dearness of provisions." Some enemies to the Established Church having imputed this emigration to "the great burthen of tithes," the primate further observes, that "the gentlemen of this country say, that it is by tithes, and not by rents, the poor are distressed; now I believe that the clergy

have not made the proportionate advance in their tithes that the gentry have in their rents, yet it is on the value of *tithes* they would throw their distress, a notion which takes among the Presbyterians, who it may be supposed, do not pay tithes with cheerfulness." But he further explains that the statement he had alluded to was so far from being correct, that the clergy had been, a little time since, in the greatest distress for tithes, and "glad to let them at a very low value, while they suffered the severest hardships from the refusal of their smaller dues."

In 1731, The Duke of Dorset was made lord lieutenant, and during his government the late emigration was ascribed more especially to the oppression of *tithe of agistment*, or that on dry cattle, which was falsely alleged to be a new and unfounded claim. Though the courts of law, before whose consideration the question of the justness of their cause was brought, had determined in favour of the clergy, such resolutions were in 1735 voted by parliament as deterred the members of the Established Church from attempting in future the recovery of any other tithes than the produce of sheep and tillage. The gentry almost universally entered into an association to support, out of a common purse, any individual who was sued on that account, and it was calculated that thus, ninety-six acres out of every hundred, were most unjustly freed from paying tithes. Nor were the clergy the only sufferers. Two evils which had perhaps been not contemplated were produced by this measure. While pasture was encouraged and tillage naturally discouraged, the *rich* landlords and graziers were the persons benefitted by it, while the support of the church was thrown upon the farmers and cottiers, and so much were the benefices of the clergy impoverished, as to compel government

and the bishops to unite several parishes, and thus diminish the number of working ministers, in order to afford a decent competence to the remainder.

The Duke of Devonshire, who in 1737 held the viceregal dignity, maintained a more magnificent court than had any of the Irish lord lieutenants since the days of the great Ormond: much of his private revenue was appropriated to works of public utility, amongst others, the building of the quay in Dublin, which still bears his name. In the third year of his administration (1739), a frost of uncommon violence took place which was felt throughout the northern parts of Europe, and recorded in Ireland, under the name of "the great frost," and this was succeeded by such a famine as considerably thinned the population.

In 1745, Lord Chesterfield was appointed lord lieutenant, contrary to the desire of the king, some of whose favourite measures he had opposed. He was, however, highly accomplished and popular, and the following instance is recorded of his uncommon self-command. One of the treasurers having burst into his room one morning while he was dressing, to tell him that the people of Connaught were rising, the lord lieutenant with perfect composure took out his watch and looking at it answered, "It is just nine o'clock, it is time for them to rise!" During his administration Ireland remained tranquil, though an alarming rebellion broke out in Scotland, with the object of placing prince Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, upon the throne of England.

The predictions of those who had opposed the abolition of the tithe of agistment, came to pass in 1757. In consequence of the neglect of tillage, famine raged to a dreadful extent in Ireland, and one of the first acts of the Duke of Bedford, who had this year succeeded Lord Chesterfield as lord lieutenant, was

to obtain from the English government a grant of £20,000 for their relief. A munificent donation of £50,000 was also granted at the same time for the enlarging and beautifying of the university of Dublin. Under the Bedford administration in 1757, was formed a body which styled itself "the Catholic Committee," an association composed of the Romish bishops, country gentlemen, and a certain number of merchants and traders, all resident in Dublin, but named by the Roman Catholics of the different corporation towns as their representatives. The original object of this association was to obtain the repeal of a tax called quarterage, which had been levied exclusively upon Roman Catholic subjects.

About the same period, an alarming spirit of insurrection appeared in the south of Ireland, which manifested itself in frequent risings of the Roman Catholics, dressed in white shirts, from whence they were denominated *White Boys*. Their professed objects were the resistance of the extortion of tithe proctors, and also of the exorbitant demands of their own Romish clergy. They committed dreadful barbarities on such as refused to obey their mandates, or join in their conspiracy. Too often headed by persons of influence of their own persuasion, they marched in military array, preceded by music, enlisting all the Roman Catholics who were capable of serving, and binding them by oaths of fidelity and obedience. Their officers swore allegiance to the French king and to the Pretender.

In 1759, Ireland was threatened with a formidable invasion from France, from whence three squadrons were dispatched, under the command respectively of Generals Thurot, De la Luc, and Conflans. De la Luc was defeated by Admiral Boscawen; Conflans by Sir Edward Hawke; the little squadron of Thurot

alone reaching the coast of Ireland. On the 21st of February he landed at Carrickfergus, which he attacked without delay, when an uncommon proof of humanity was given by a French soldier: observing a little child playing in the street, amid the fire of the contending parties, he grounded his musket—ran to the infant—carried it to a place of safety, and then returning to his comrades, resumed the combat. Colonel Jennings, commander of the garrison, made a brave defence, but the castle was in such a state of ruin as to be untenable. A capitulation was, therefore, resolved on; the safety of the town, castle, and military, was granted, on condition that the French ships should be furnished with provisions, and that a number of French prisoners equal to that of the defenders of Carrickfergus, should be sent home from the British islands. Conflans, on his return to France, was attacked by Commodore Elliot, and, after a desperate resistance, the French vessels were captured, their commander falling in the engagement

CHAPTER XX.

GEORGE III.

1760 TO 1798.

ON the death of George II., in 1760, his grandson, George III., ascended the British throne.

His reign, which was long and prosperous, seemed to commence inauspiciously; for in its third year an epidemic disorder amongst cattle, had spread from Holland into England, raising the price of beef, cheese, and butter, exorbitantly, from which cause

pasturage became more profitable than ever, whilst tillage was proportionably depressed. Agriculture in Munster nearly ceased; and numbers of labouring families being turned adrift, and forced to support themselves by plunder or beggary, soon united together for lawless purposes. The south of Ireland was, at the same time, much disturbed by bands of lawless rabble, who called themselves *Oak Boys*, from wearing oak branches in their hats. These insurgents alleged as the pretext for their conduct their anxiety to redress the following grievances. The highways in Ireland were formerly made and repaired by housekeepers; he who had a horse was obliged to give it with his own labour, for six days in the year gratis; he who had none was bound to labour himself. It had long been deplored that this burthen fell entirely on the poor, while the rich were exempted from it, and whole parishes rose, urged on by the distress which it occasioned.

During the administration of Lord Townshend, a change was made with regard to Irish Parliaments, which had been originally of equal length with the monarch's life, unless they were dissolved by a royal prerogative; but in that period a bill was passed, limiting their duration to eight years.

Ulster became agitated in 1772 by a new class of insurrectionists, calling themselves *Hearts of Steel*. These men had been tenants on the estate of the Marquis of Donegal, who on the expiration of their leases, proposing to let ground to those only who could pay considerable fines, dispossessed numbers of these farms, and these, joining together to revenge themselves, committed desperate outrages. Some of this party having been acquitted at Carrickfergus, an act of parliament was passed directing that they should be a second time tried, in counties

different from those in which their offences had been committed, so that the jury might not be biassed by personal feelings. But there also they were acquitted; and, emboldened by this success, the *White Boys* of the south, whose feelings were but too much the same with those of the *Hearts of Steel*, increased daily in violence.

The attempt of Great Britain to raise a revenue from the taxation of America, had engaged her in a doubtful contest with that country, the effects of which were highly injurious to Ireland. Shut out from the American market, the manufacture of Irish linen had declined, whilst, prevented by an embargo from the exportation of provisions, and drained by remittances for the payment of Irish troops employed abroad, trade became stagnant, taxes could not be paid, and the revenue failed. To relieve this distress, the English House of Commons was about to pass an act in 1778, which would have given Ireland many commercial advantages. But the British merchants petitioned so earnestly against the bill, that the house was induced to negative it. In the same year, during the lord lieutenancy of the Marquis of Buckingham, power was granted to the Roman Catholics, on taking the oath of allegiance, and subscribing to a prescribed declaration, to acquire full property in land, so far as a lease of 999 years; they were also relieved from the law by which a son is empowered to force a settlement from his father, by professing conformity to the established religion.

An invasion being apprehended from France, which had recently come forward to assist the American republicans, and Ireland being unable to pay an army sufficient for her own defence, the principal inhabitants of Belfast, Antrim, Armagh,

and the adjacent counties, headed by Lord Charlemont, and calling themselves *Volunteers*, united in the year 1779 for that purpose. They elected their own officers, purchased their own arms and uniform, and were assisted by subscriptions for extraordinary expenses. From its manifest expediency, the measure was countenanced at first by government, and in a little time their number amounted to 42,000. The influence of this armed body soon became visible. Parliament met on the 12th of October, 1779; and the propriety of the taxation of the woollen manufacture being discussed, it was disputed whether a clause should be inserted in the address to the king, containing an assurance "that a free trade alone could save the nation from impending ruin." It was chiefly owing to the influence of the Volunteers that the clause was inserted; and the address was carried to the lord lieutenant amid the acclamations of the populace, between two lines of the Dublin Volunteers, headed by the Duke of Leinster, in full uniform. The procession extended from the Parliament House to the Castle. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to this patriotic body, and the bills were passed for the removal of the obnoxious duties.

Considerable distrust was soon felt in the country, from a declaration made by Lord North, the prime minister, that those concessions were boons resumable at pleasure. In consequence of that declaration, an opinion daily gained ground in Ireland, that without a legislature totally independent of England, the commerce of this kingdom would be precarious; and manifestoes to that effect were published by different bodies of the Volunteers, the substance of which the admired Irish orator, Henry Grattan, submitted to the House of Commons in 1780.

The kind feelings of George the Third towards his Roman Catholic subjects inducing him to grant them such privileges as he deemed not inconsistent with the constitution, led to their immunities being this year still further extended, by indulgent regulations with regard to landed property, by the removal of some penalties from such of their clergy as should take the oath of allegiance and be registered, and by the permission, under a few restrictions, to educate and be guardians to their children.

In 1781, the loyalty of the volunteers was proved, by their nobly stepping forward on the report of an intended invasion from France. All the officers of Lord Charlemont's corps professed the utmost readiness to serve, and were offended that he had not at once acted as their colonel, and commanded them to take the field. The whole northern body proposed to follow their example; and, had an invasion taken place, it would have been met by fifteen thousand men.

Meanwhile, the Tory ministry having lost America, went out of office, and were replaced by a Whig government, with the Marquis of Buckingham at its head; and the Duke of Portland was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. In the session of April, 1782, the sacramental test, which was so obnoxious, was repealed; statutes were enacted placing the parliament of Ireland in the same independence, with respect to legislation, as that of Great Britain, and abrogating the acts by which the Irish house of peers had been deprived of their judicial powers in Ireland.

Some politicians still continued to murmur, but a large part of the nation considered the independence of the Irish parliament now satisfactorily established.

It is to be lamented that the volunteers soon began to deviate from the object of their institution, and to form provincial meetings, having in view the new-modelling of the constitution. On the 15th of February, 1782, delegates from one hundred and forty-three corps of the province of Ulster assembled at Dungannon, and entered into resolutions of a democratic tendency, which were soon adopted by the great majority of the volunteer corps of Ireland. In consequence of the political violence of the volunteers, many respectable persons of rank and fortune, who had been their leaders and officers, withdrew from them, and were unfortunately replaced by persons who were disaffected to government.

Under the administration of Lord Temple, in 1783, was instituted the order of the KNIGHTS OF SAINT PATRICK, of which his majesty George the Third, and his successors, were to be sovereigns; the lord lieutenant, grand master; and fifteen of the chief nobility, knights companions. Lord Temple was superseded by Lord Northington in the autumn of 1783, soon after whose appointment several meetings of volunteer delegates and deputies took place in different parts of the country, to propose a plan of reform; and on the meeting of parliament, a *national convention*, as it called itself, consisting of delegates from the provinces, assembled in Dublin; they prepared a plan of reform, and Mr. Flood, an eloquent Irish barrister, moved, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people. It was, however, negatived by a large majority.

In 1784, a most dangerous association was embodied in Ulster, which originated in the following circumstance:—In the July of that year, a quarrel

occurred between two men near the town of Market-hill, in the county of Armagh, when one of the parties gained the victory, through the assistance of a Roman Catholic peasant, for which the vanquished hero vowed to take vengeance on the Romanists. For that purpose he published a report that a horse-race would take place on a certain day, when the combatants again met, and a second time the former conqueror was victorious by the help of some Roman Catholics. Both parties began to raise recruits, Presbyterians and Papists mixed indiscriminately, and were for some time marked by the name of the district to which they belonged, and not by any religious denomination. They soon, however, began to separate, and enlist under the banners of religion; and as the latter generally visited the houses of their antagonists at dawn of day, they soon got the name of *Peep-o'-day Boys*; whilst the latter, who pretended that they acted merely on the defensive, assumed the name of *Defenders*, under which name they appeared in the counties of Meath and Louth; and although no such pretext as that afforded in Ulster, was given in those counties, they disarmed nearly all who were not of their party, and committed many murders, and other horrible outrages.

In this year (1784) Mr. Pitt, second son of the great Earl of Chatham, was appointed prime minister, and the Duke of Rutland lord lieutenant of Ireland. A motion for parliamentary reform was brought forward in a proper manner, but rejected, and the nation became much discontented on political and commercial subjects. Riots grew frequent, manufacturers united to prevent the import of English cloths; journeymen mechanics combined for higher wages; and delegates from each county and town of Ireland met in Dublin, forming them-

selves into a body which they called "a congress," to petition the throne on the subject of reform.

A new species of insurrection, originating in Kerry in 1786, soon spread throughout the whole of Munster. It was directed chiefly against the Protestant clergy, and its proceedings were not the wild and extravagant efforts of ignorant peasants, but a dark and deep-laid scheme, planned by men skilled in the law, and the artifices by which it might be eluded. These insurgents, who styled themselves *Right Boys*, marched in bodies of some thousands, without arms, quietly allowing any person amongst them who was charged with crime, to be seized, but swearing in people wherever they went, to obey the commands of an imaginary leader called CAPTAIN RIGHT, and not to pay more for tithe than a sum which would not have afforded the clergy subsistence. So long as they opposed the church only, they seem to have met with little opposition; but advancing from one step to another, they proceeded to limit the rents, to raise the price of labour, to oppose the collection of the tax on hearths, and at a later period, to seize the arms of Protestants. They even broke open the prisons, and established such a system of terror, that the landlords were afraid to distrain those tenants who were in arrear. It was found necessary to pass an act to put down these and all other tumultuous assemblies; and on this occasion the most honourable testimony to the conduct of the Irish clergy, was borne by Mr. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, who declared it was established by the best information, that instead of extorting the *tenth* from their parishioners, as they had been accused of doing, hardly one of them received even the *twentieth*.

In 1789, both kingdoms were much divided on a question arising out of a very distressing circum-

stance: the excellent king, George III., had been attacked by an illness attended with so much derangement of mind, that at the close of the year he became incapable of discharging the duties of his royal station. It was proposed in the British parliament to make the Prince of Wales regent, *under certain restrictions*; the Irish parliament, on the other hand, requested his royal highness to assume the government of Ireland, with *all* the prerogatives belonging to the crown. The Marquess of Buckingham, lord lieutenant, having refused to transmit the address, five commissioners were appointed to carry it to London; the happy recovery, however, of his majesty, at this very critical period, rendered the measure unnecessary; but the different opinions that existed, showed the inconvenience of having, under the same sceptre, two independent legislatures, which might each appoint a separate regent, or confer on the same person a power in one kingdom, which might in the other be withheld.

The progress of the French revolution had engaged the attention of all Europe. The spirit which had involved that kingdom in anarchy and blood, soon began to extend its influence to the surrounding nations, and in Ireland many were found who approved of the principles on which it had taken place. Amongst other bodies, its influence spread through the "Catholic Committee," which for many years had been so inoffensive as to be tolerated by government. In 1791, a petition was framed by this assembly, and presented to the lord lieutenant, which, from the republican nature of its sentiments, caused above sixty respectable Roman Catholics, including the Lords Kenmare and Fingal, to secede from the committee. On their secession, the party was joined by the Hon. Simon Butler, brother to Lord Mount-

garret; Mr. Todd Jones, who having injured his fortune by electioneering, hoped to repair it by becoming a republican; and Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer, who had been disappointed in his profession, and brought to the service of the Irish revolutionists abilities worthy of a better cause. To the Presbyterian dissenters, these men particularly addressed themselves, being aware of their notorious willingness to join in republican measures.

The dissenters in the northern provinces of Ireland were but too well inclined to act upon principles which had been long since adopted by them, and were strengthened by the success of the republic of America, and subsequently of that of France: the genius of their religion rendered them friendly to a system of equalization; they had never loved the aristocratic form of the British government, and now hailed the promise of an opportunity to effect its subversion in Ireland. The first society of "United Irishmen" was formed in 1791, at Belfast, by Wolfe Tone and Mr. Jones; Mr. Hamilton Rowan, a gentleman of fortune and high connexion in the county of Down, but of principles greatly disaffected towards government, was appointed Secretary. The avowed objects of this society were parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation; another association of the same nature was formed in Dublin, of which a country gentleman, of the name of Napper Tandy, was made secretary, and Mr. Butler, chairman.

In 1792, a large body of men enrolled themselves under the specious title of National Guards, and the anniversary of the French revolution was enthusiastically observed at Belfast, when the United Irishmen resolved on assisting the French to carry on war with England. Seditious newspapers were printed,

and revolutionary publications widely circulated amongst the people.

In the course of 1792-3, the whole of the restrictive laws were repealed, except those which excluded Roman Catholics from sitting in parliament, and from holding about thirty public offices, but far from feeling grateful for this indulgence, they became daily more turbulent, resolving, as one of their orators declared, "to be satisfied with nothing less than the state." The insurrectionary spirit becoming every day more open, and more dangerous; and, the war with France having now fully commenced, the Irish militia was at this time embodied, an act was also passed to prevent the importation of gunpowder; and another, still stronger than the former one, for the repressing of seditious assemblies. In the following year the outrages of the defenders became more numerous, and several gentlemen were detected holding a treasonable connexion with France. Amongst them was a Protestant clergyman of the name of Jackson, who being committed to Newgate, poisoned himself, and died in the dock. Hamilton Rowan was also fined and imprisoned for a seditious pamphlet; but, alarmed by Mr. Jackson's committal, he escaped from gaol. So turbulent was the state of Ireland, that Lord Westmoreland was recalled and Lord Fitzwilliam, in 1795, sent over in his place. But the new lord lieutenant made himself obnoxious to government, by the dismissal of the attorney and solicitor-general, (afterwards Lords Kilwarden and Norbury), and other persons, whom he thought likely to oppose measures favourable to the Roman Catholic party. Lord Camden was appointed lord lieutenant in his stead, when the Roman Catholics,

who considered themselves as having found a friend in Lord Fitzwilliam, became more than ever discontented. Money for rebellious purposes was collected in the chapels, insurrectionary meetings were continued; and, at one held in Francis-street chapel, in April, 1795, many of the students of Trinity College openly expressed their disloyal principles.

As the republican party had formed a systematic combination to subvert the constitution, the loyalists judged it advisable to bind themselves together for its defence, *as established by the Prince of Orange*, and, for that purpose, formed themselves into a body assuming in honour of him the name of ORANGEMEN, several gentlemen of fortune and high character placing themselves at the head of this association. An armed yeomanry too was about the same time embodied by the government in addition to the militia and troops of the line. On this body dependence was justly placed, since any persons who evinced the slightest symptom of disaffection were immediately expelled from it—in number it soon exceeded 50,000.

The rebels had long, through Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster, Wolfe Tone, and their agent at Paris, pressed the French government to aid their intended insurrection, by an invasion of Ireland; and, for that purpose, a fleet sailed from Brest on the 16th December, 1796, consisting of forty-three sail, containing an army of 25,000 men. By the merciful dispensation of Providence the wind was adverse to them from the very day of their setting sail, and when at last actually anchored in Bantry bay, to the south-west of Cork, so near land, that Wolfe Tone, who accompanied the expedition, says in his “journal,”

that he felt "as if he could touch it," the "elements fought for Ireland," and prevented the disembarkation. The scattered fleet was detained in Bantry bay by contrary winds for six days, till, from forty-three, they were reduced to fourteen sail; and, at last, on the morning of the 29th, the commodore made the signal to steer for France, and thus ended this formidable expedition, in regard to which the interference of Providence, in behalf of Ireland, was marked in a manner equally special as that of the dispersion of the Spanish Armada.

The spirit of rebellion spread rapidly, and in 1797 *the Irish Union* (a body of men disaffected to the government, and banded together for seditious purposes, which had existed for some time), was organized in the most effective manner; it consisted of a number of societies closely linked together, and named *provincial, district, county, and baronial* committees. The supreme authority was vested in an executive directory composed of five persons, who were elected by ballot, and were unknown to all except the members of the provincial committees. The orders of this secret directing power, were thus conveyed through the whole body, by a channel of communication not easily discovered. So regular and deep-laid was the plan for the destruction of the church and state! but the arm of the Almighty was stretched forth for its defence. The smouldering flame of rebellion was fanned by the priests, who assured the people, that "God befriended them in their operations, and that the whole of the business was as visibly his work, as that of dividing the Red Sea by Moses." They resorted to an ingenious method of making their votaries believe themselves invulnerable, by the distribution of *scapulars*, or pieces of cloth worn next the skin,

on which the letters I. H. S. were inscribed. The cloth of which the scapulars had originally been made being composed of asbestos, possessed the quality of resisting the fire ; on receiving the priest's benediction, they were committed to the flames, when, to the astonishment of all, they were found to be preserved safe and entire. Many thousands of scapulars were issued at a shilling a piece by the priest of Bannow (a parish in the south of Wexford) alone, who assured the wearers of the sacred symbol, that a ball from the gun of a heretic could do them no injury ! Another *preservative* was found on the person of a rebel who was shot, purporting to be the *measure of the wounds in the side of our Lord*, by which he who wore it was declared to be protected from fire and tempest, sword and bullet. Sometimes their priests asserted, that the Orangemen intended a general extirpation of the Roman Catholics, and for that purpose had introduced a quantity of combustible stuff to be made into *black candles*, which would produce the destruction of any house in which they were lighted, as, "once kindled, their flame was inextinguishable." Such were the miserable means employed to excite the ignorant populace.

A proclamation was this year, 1797, issued by General Lake, commander of the forces, inviting the people to return to their allegiance, and promising protection to such as should do so ; a few accepted his offer, but the insurrection was now too nearly ripe to be prevented. Finding that further aid, which had been promised by France, was tardy in arriving, the rebels sent agents to Paris, as well as to Hamburgh, who were authorized to raise large sums of money, assuring their allies, that they would be well repaid the expenses attending any

future armament, as the funds for that purpose were *to be raised off the confiscated estates of all who opposed them, and also off the lands belonging to the Protestant church.* Encouraged by like promises, in the autumn of 1797, 15,000 men from France and Holland were embarked at Brest, under the command of General Daendels, and waited only for a fair wind to waft them over to Ireland. The French troops, however, suddenly disembarked, the Dutch fleet sailed contrary to the advice of their commander, and, on the 11th of October, were totally defeated at Camperdown by Lord Duncan, the British admiral.

The arrival of the promised assistance from France was so long postponed, that the insurgents became weary of waiting, and numbering in the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster a very large body of armed men, considered that the time for open insurrection had arrived, but at this critical moment their plot was providentially revealed to the government by one Thomas Reynolds, a silk-mercant. This man, who had been a respectable trader in Dublin, was seduced by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Oliver Bond, a merchant, to attach himself to their party. Finding, however, that instead of reforming abuses, the conspirators meditated the overthrow of the constitution, the massacre of the leading members of government, and their own aggrandisement, he resolved to reveal these designs, which he did to a Mr. Cope, a respectable merchant, for whom he had a great esteem. He disclosed to him, that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Mr. Bond's house, on the twelfth of March, to concert measures for an insurrection which was shortly to take place. Acting on this information which was given him by Cope, Mr. Justice Swan, with proper assistance, re-

paired on the day which he had named, to Mr. Bond's house, and there seized the delegates and the papers, which led to the full discovery of the intended insurrection. About the same time Mr. Thomas Emmett and other leaders were taken into custody, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. A new directory which was chosen, fared no better than the last, its proceedings being disclosed by a Captain Armstrong, an officer in the King's County militia, who, for the purpose of discovering their plans, had pretended to be one of the conspirators.

A proclamation of the existence of a general conspiracy against government was now issued, ordering his majesty's forces to employ the most summary and effectual measures for its immediate suppression. The military were quartered in the houses of those who were suspected, and many violences were inflicted by the soldiery, in which the innocent were too often confounded with the guilty.

As the time fixed on for the insurrection approached, it was deemed advisable by government to obtain the arrest of those who were likely to bear a prominent part in it. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had escaped from Mr. Bond's on the evening of the 12th of May, was seized in the house of Nicholas Murphy, a feather merchant, in Thomas-street, by Captain Swan, of the revenue corps, Mr. Sirr, the town major, Mr. Ryan, a captain of yeomanry, and eight soldiers. While the military were being posted in the most advantageous manner, Captain Ryan perceived a woman running up stairs, as he supposed to alarm Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and following her instantly, found his lordship lying on a bed in his dressing jacket; Captain Ryan approaching, stated that he had a warrant against him, but assured him,

that if he would surrender he should be treated with the greatest respect; Lord Edward instead of replying, sprang from the bed and snapped a pistol at him, which, fortunately missed fire; they then closed desperately, and Captain Swan and Major Sirr having come up to the assistance of Ryan, Lord Edward gave himself up, after being disabled by a pistol-shot from Major Sirr, of which he died in Dublin Castle, in the course of a fortnight.

On the 19th and 20th of the same month, two lawyers of the names of Henry and John Sheares, were arrested, who were found to have drawn up some resolutions, the sanguinary nature of which accorded ill with the amiability of the private character of the writers.

The night of the 23rd of May had been that appointed for the breaking out of the insurrection. The course of proceedings resolved on is said to have been, that one party should attack Laughlin or *Lehonstown*, a village seven miles south of Dublin, where a large body of the king's troops were encamped, whilst another was to seize on the artillery stationed at Chapelizod, two miles to the west of the Castle; both parties were then to unite to enter the capital and cooperate with a third by whom the castle was to be surprised. The mail coaches were also to be stopped as a signal to the distant parts of the kingdom to rise. All possible precautions were taken to prevent the insurrection, but notwithstanding, the peasants in the districts around the city of Dublin, rose at the time appointed and destroyed the mail-coaches. During that night and the following day several skirmishes took place near Rathfarnham and other villages in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, in all of which the rebels were defeated.

On the 24th of May, the town of Prosperous, in

the county of Kildare, was attacked, the barrack set on fire, and twenty-eight of the city of Cork militia, with their commander, Captain Swaine, perished in the flames or by the pikes of the assailants. At Naas, the county town, and Kilcullen, to the south-west of it, engagements occurred on the same morning, when the assailants were quickly repulsed and pursued with slaughter, and many of them taken prisoners.

The rebellion calling for the prompt exertions of government to suppress it, proclamations were issued by General Lake, commander of the forces, by the lord lieutenant, and by the lord mayor, ordering, that all but military men, magistrates, and members of parliament, should remain in their houses from nine at night until five in the morning, and it was further declared, that all persons acting or assisting in the insurrection should be punished by martial-law. On the 25th, the town of Carlow was attacked, but as the garrison had been apprised of the intended assault, it was prepared for defence. During the battle it was set on fire, when eight houses were consumed and four hundred of the rebels perished; the progress of the rebellion towards the south-west was checked by this repulse and some others of minor importance.

On the northern side of Dublin, the only large assembly of rebels found in arms, was completely routed on the evening of the 26th, on the hill of Tara by two companies of the Rea Fencibles and a body of yeomanry. Shortly after, a body which was posted in the village of Rathangan, in the county of Kildare, was dislodged by a party of the north-Cork militia, and alarmed by these defeats, a number of rebels laid down their arms and were allowed to retire to their habitations.

Insurrection burst forth in the county of Wexford also, where the inhabitants had been remarkable for their peaceable disposition, which was justly imputed to the comfort and constant occupation which its extensive agriculture afforded to the farmers and peasantry, and to the numbers of country gentlemen who resided on their estates. So little was any disturbance apprehended there, that only five hundred of the royal army had been quartered in the county. The insurgents were headed by John Murphy, priest of the parish of Kilcormick, a shallow, fanatical, and ferocious man, on the 27th and 28th of May. In the space of twenty-four hours, two great bodies collected on the hills of Oulart and Kilmacthomas, to the west of Enniscorthy. About two hundred yeomen marched from Carnew, a town at the northern part of the county, against the body in Kilmacthomas, which after a short but desperate fight fled in the utmost confusion, leaving about a hundred dead upon the field of battle. The event of the attack upon Oulart, where Murphy commanded, was different; the rebels there, had at first precipitately given way, but rallying under their ecclesiastical leader, they made so furious an onset with pikes, that with the loss of only three of their men, they slew almost the whole detachment.

On the 28th, Enniscorthy was attacked by 7,000 men, and after a brave but fruitless defence, the royalists were obliged to retreat to the town of Wexford. The insurgents then posted themselves at the "Three Rocks," a village only two miles and a-half from that town, which the garrison, who were disappointed in reinforcements from Duncannon fort, and were much inferior in number to the rebels, formed a resolution of evacuating. All the town of Wexford was in the greatest confusion—the gaoler had delivered

up his key to Mr. Bagenal Harvey, of Bargo Castle, a Protestant gentleman of birth and education, who had been arrested on private information, and was seized with such a guilty fear as to conceal himself in the chimney, from whence he was with difficulty persuaded by the officers to descend and write a letter of entreaty to the rebels to treat the inhabitants with humanity. This letter two gentlemen of the name of Richards offered to carry to the rebel camp at "Three Rocks." The insurgents replied, that the lives and properties of the townsmen should be spared on condition of their delivering up all their arms and ammunition. They then poured in, the doors were thrown open, and the multitude regaled with drink, of which, however, they would not partake until they had been previously assured that it was not poisoned.

The northern parts of Wexford, about Gorey, were also frightfully agitated. On the first of June, about 3000 rebels proceeded to attack Newtown Barry, a town at the foot of Mount Leinster, in the north-west of the same county. They entered it without opposition, the King's County militia marching out of it as if panic-struck, when after retreating about a mile, they were led back to the assault, and attacked and routed the rebels, who were engaged in plundering and drinking. The two main bodies of the insurgents were now directed against New Ross on the River Barrow, in the south-west, and Gorey in the north-east of the county; but their progress towards the latter place was arrested by General Elliott. Disappointed of advancing to Gorey, the rebel army retreated to Corrigrua hill, under the command of Philip Roche, a sanguinary Roman Catholic priest. Meantime an army of 1500 men arrived under the command of General Loftus; and on the 4th he and Colonel Walpole marched to at-

tack Corrigrua. The rebels having received intelligence of their motions, met Colonel Walpole's division with a large force at Tubberneering; his troops were quickly thrown into confusion by a tremendous fire from the field on both sides of the road. Whilst endeavouring to rally his men, he received a mortal wound, and on seeing their leader fall, the division fled in the utmost disorder to Arklow, a town on the southern border of the county of Wicklow. In the flight a little drummer only twelve years of age fell into the hands of the rebels; carrying his drum with him he was conducted to Gorey, where he was desired to beat a triumph on it, but the gallant boy declaring that the king's drum should never sound for rebels, sprung on it, and broke it to pieces; a moment afterwards he fell a sacrifice to his loyalty, pierced through by numerous pikes.

All specie, or solid coin, seemed to vanish during this insurrection. The people imagining that they did government an injury by abolishing the paper currency, destroyed quantities of bank notes, in lighting tobacco pipes, and wadding firelocks. So much was the value of paper money depreciated, and that of specie advanced, that a pound of beef was regularly sold in the market of Wexford for a penny in cash, when a bank note of the nominal value of twenty shillings would not have purchased an equal quantity.

Whilst one body of the Wexford insurgents was advancing towards the north, another, commanded by Bagenal Harvey, marched southwards, and arrived on the 4th of June, at New Ross, a town on the confines of Wexford and Kilkenny. Early on the morning of the 25th, Harvey attacked and gained possession of it. The main body of the royal troops, overpowered by numbers, fled over the bridge, but

were bravely rallied by General Johnson, who rode after them exclaiming, "What! will you desert your general? will you disown your general? your countryman?" On this they returned, and allowed him to lead them back to their posts, and completely routed the enemy, after a severe engagement of twelve hours, in which the loss of the royal troops was computed at 230, that of the enemy at 2,600. One of the rebels, emboldened by intoxication, advancing before his comrades, seized a gun, and thrusting his hat into it, exclaimed, "Come on my brave fellows, her mouth is stopped." At that instant the gunner laid the match, and the unfortunate boaster was blown to pieces.

In the dwelling-house and barn of Captain King of Scullabogue, at the foot of the Carrickburne mountains, in the county of Wexford, a number of Protestants, men, women, and children, were confined under the guard of John Murphy, the Priest. When the rebel army began to give way at New Ross, three expresses were sent to Murphy, ordering him to put the prisoners to death, and saying that the priests had sanctioned his doing so. He was at first unwilling to obey the horrible command; but on hearing that it was enforced by the priests, the rebels who were with him became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed. Having shot twenty-five of their victims, whom they led from the dwelling house, they repaired to the barn where 184 were shut up, and set it on fire, while the miserable inmates, shrieking for mercy, crowded to the door, which they forced open for the purpose of admitting air; for some time they continued to place it between them and the rebels, though in attempting to do so, their hands and fingers were cut off. Bundles of

straw were then thrust into the barn to increase the fire ; but at last, the prisoners having been overcome by the flame and smoke, the moans gradually died away in the silence of death !

Amongst those who had been shot, were two brothers of the name of Jones. When placed on their knees to be murdered, the wife of one of them kneeling between them, took a hand of each, and closed her eyes, and when they fell, implored the rebels as an act of mercy to shoot her also ; but on being refused this boon, she put the bodies on a car covering them with her cloak, and was proceeding to bury them, when she was stopped by a party of female rebels, who compelled her to return. These inhuman wretches urged their companions to put her to death ; but the priest Murphy, their captain, forbade them doing so, alleging that *such a horrid deed would kindle a blush on the cheeks of the Virgin Mary.*

A body of about 20,000 rebels, each company carrying a green flag with a yellow harp in the centre, marched to Arklow ; excited by intoxication, and encouraged by their priests, who to heighten their religious frenzy, said mass at the end of every mile, they attacked the town on all sides except on that which is washed by the river : Murphy, leading his followers on desperately, took from his pocket some musket-balls, which he pretended had struck without wounding him. Assuring them that the bullets of heretics could do them no injury, he rushed forward, waving in his hand a standard with a cross upon it, and fell by a canon-shot, in the front of his men ! On this their courage failed, and they fled on all sides in disorder.

In consequence of the decisive measures of government in Ulster, the hopes of the conspirators had

become much lowered, but excited by the news of the insurrection in Wexford, they rose simultaneously on the 7th of June in the vicinity of the town of Antrim; and beginning their attack about two in the afternoon, made themselves masters of it; they were, however, soon defeated, dislodged, and closely pursued by a body of the king's troops. The loss on the side of the rebels was calculated at about 200, on that of the royalists, thirty fell, amongst whom was the brave Lord O'Neill, who had ridden into the town to attend a public meeting appointed by the magistrates. One of the rebels seized the rein of his horse, but was instantly shot by the earl, on which the insurgents gathered round him, dragged him off his horse, and wounded him so desperately with pikes, that he lingered but for a few days. Two other unsuccessful attempts were made on the town of Ballymena, in the centre and on Ballycastle, in the northern part of the same county; but hearing that the Wexford men intended the extermination of the Protestant religion, the Antrim rebels, who were chiefly of the Presbyterian persuasion, resolved on throwing down their arms and returning to their allegiance. Attempts were made by the insurrectionary party in the county of Down to possess themselves of Saintfield and Ballinahinch, but after a hot engagement they fled in all directions; in a little time, however, rallying their forces they reassembled on one of the Slieve Croobh mountains, where, after a long consultation, they determined to give up the contest and disperse, having lost in the skirmishes about 150 men.

The cessation of rebellion in the north, while the rest of the kingdom, with a small exception, remained quiet, left the disaffected of Wexford to bear the brunt of the battle alone. Since their repulse at Arklow, they had been reduced to defensive warfare,

waiting in hopes of assistance from France, where Wolfe Tone and a Mr. Lewins were carrying on a negotiation. After burning the little town of Tinnahely, in the county of Wexford, and making a fruitless attempt on Hacketstown, in Carlow, they joined a vast party who had pitched their camp on Vinegar Hill. That post, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, had been above three weeks in possession of the rebels, during which time many Protestants of the neighbourhood were seized, a few were assassinated on the spot where they were found, but most of them were dragged to Vinegar Hill, where they were shot, or put to death in a manner still more dreadful. .

General Lake ordered that the divisions of Generals Dundas, Loftus, Duffe, Eustace, Johnson, Ross, and Needham should advance from their respective stations, and surround Vinegar Hill. By this united body of troops, Enniscorthy was first attacked, while the artillery poured an incessant fire upon the hill; after a contest of about an hour and a half, the insurgents fled towards Wexford through the space which should have been occupied by General Needham's division, which had not come up in time. Amongst the royalists, whose number had amounted to 13,000, the loss was inconsiderable, in comparison with the numbers who had been engaged.

On the same day that the royal army recovered Enniscorthy, they obtained possession of Wexford. General Moore had, on the evening of the 12th, in his march to Enniscorthy, been intercepted near the church of Horetown by a body of 5,000 or 6,000 men, led by Philip Roche. A contest ensued, which was attended with considerable slaughter, and was long doubtful, until their store of powder being exhausted, the insurgents retreated in good order to

Three Rocks. Joined by two regiments under Lord Dalhousie, the army was proceeding to Taghmon, south of Wexford, where it was met by an embassy of two gentlemen from that town, who proposed its surrender, on condition of their lives and properties being guaranteed by his majesty's generals. This proposal was forwarded to the commander-in-chief by General Moore, who, marching towards Wexford, took post on Windmill Hill, within a mile of the town, which he humanely prevented his troops from entering.

Wexford had been three weeks in the hands of the rebels, and about 250 Protestants, comprising many of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, were confined there, who were in daily expectation of being massacred, although exertions for their preservation were constantly made by some gentlemen amongst the rebel party. Twice had their destruction been determined on by Thomas Dixon, an unfeeling monster, who, from being master of a trading vessel, had become a captain of the insurgents, and as often was he opposed by two stout-hearted members of his own party, who boldly defied him to single combat, insisting that he should show himself a man before he dared to put defenceless people to death. At length, on the 20th of June, when the greater part of the rebel garrison had been sent to Three Rocks to reinforce the army preparing to march against General Moore, Dixon, with a multitude of peasants, to whom he distributed whiskey, took possession of the town, and proceeded to the work of butchery. His wife, as inhuman as himself, had some time before purloined from the drawing-room of a Mr. Le Hunte, a gentleman residing in Wexford, two fire-screens, ornamented with emblematical figures. Dixon rushing out with the

screens, informed the mob that this room had been the meeting place of Orangemen, and that the figures denoted the manner in which they had resolved on putting the Roman Catholics to death. That they were first to be deprived of sight, and then burned alive, without the exception even of children; and that the seamen, in particular, of that communion, were to be roasted to death on red-hot anchors. Led by this miscreant, the infuriated mob rushed to the prison, where their victims would, most probably, have been despatched, had not Dixon's wife requested that they should be brought to the bridge, that the people might have the pleasure of witnessing the execution. The prisoners were accordingly conducted thither, with horrible solemnity, each surrounded by a guard of musketry, and preceded by a black flag, marked with a white cross. Concerning each victim it was successively asked aloud, whether any one could particularize a good action which might entitle him to mercy, and on the crowd being silent, or returning an unfavourable answer, he was put to death. A few were shot, but the greater part were piked in a manner much more cruel than the extinction of life required. When thirty-five had been thus butchered, the slaughter was put an end to by a priest of the name of Corrin. On his arrival at the bridge, he vainly supplicated the assassins to desist. Finding his supplication disregarded, he commanded them, in an authoritative tone, to pray, before they should proceed further in the work of death. Having caused them to kneel, he prayed aloud, that God would show the same mercy to them which they should extend to the surviving prisoners. At that awful moment, intelligence arrived that Vinegar Hill was beset by the king's troops, on which the multitude quickly

dispersed, and the surviving captives were re-conducted to prison, with denunciations of a general massacre of the Protestants on the following morning. But, happily for them, Wexford was taken on that very day, as has been stated; and Philip Roche having been made prisoner, his followers marched to Carlow, under the command of John Murphy.

The insurgents again separated, one body taking post at Sledagh, another at Peppard's Castle, in the northern part of the county of Wexford, where, having slaughtered thirty-seven refugees, who were flying from Gorey to Arklow, they bent their course towards the Wicklow mountains. The main body soon moved from Sledagh southwards, towards Scollagh Gap, in Carlow; and having burned the adjacent town of Kiledmond, they entered Kilkenny, and destroyed Castlecomer. Attacked and routed, however, by Sir Charles Asgill, they joined their companions in Wicklow, when they agreed to disperse to their places of abode. Their leader, Edward Roche, was taken, and hanged at Tullow, in the county of Carlow.

Hostilities were still maintained by another body of Wexford insurgents, who had directed their march to Kildare. Attempting to pass the river Boyne, at Clonard, a village situated in the county of Meath, about twenty-two miles from Dublin, they received a decided check from Captain Tyrrel, and the yeomanry under his command. Crossing from thence to the northward, they encountered, and were finally defeated by the king's troops, at the village of Nightstown.

All this time the capital, well barricaded at all the entrances, and vigilantly guarded, enjoyed great tranquillity. On the 22nd of June, Lord Corn-

wallis landed as lord lieutenant, and issued a proclamation on the 29th, authorizing protection to be given to such insurgents as should surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance; he also passed an act of amnesty, in favour of all complying with the above conditions, who had not been leaders, or committed manslaughter, except in battle. From the benefit of this act, about thirty, who had been the most deeply concerned in the rebellion, were excluded; but on the intercession of Lord Cornwallis, and Mr. Cook, his secretary, they were admitted to a capitulation, on giving information of the transactions of the United Irishmen, and were allowed to emigrate to foreign countries. From the information given by these conspirators, it appeared that the rebellion originated in a system formed, not with the view of obtaining either Catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and establishing a democratic republic; that the means resorted to for the attainment of these designs was a secret systematic combination, fitted to attract the multitude, and artfully connected together, with the view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving as one body, at the impulse, and under the direction of their leaders; that, for the further accomplishment of their object, they had entered into a negotiation in 1796, and finally concluded an alliance with the French directory, in the summer of the same year, by which it was stipulated that an adequate force should be sent for the invasion of Ireland, to assist in the contemplated measure of a general insurrection; that in pursuance of this design, measures were adopted by the chiefs of the

conspiracy, for giving their societies a military form, that for arming their adherents they had recourse to the fabrication of pikes; that from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by government, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative of immediate insurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose, and that, to this cause was to be attributed the premature breaking out of the rebellion, and, humanly speaking, its ultimate failure.

Soon after the commencement of the insurrection the sum of £100,000 was voted by the House of Commons, for the immediate relief of those loyalists who had suffered most severely. Government now extended its views towards the compensation of all; and the sum total of the estimate of their losses, laid before parliament, amounted to £823,517.

Hitherto, the long-expected aid from France had not arrived; but, on the 21st of August, 1798, three French vessels appeared in Killala bay, in the county of Mayo. The force on board consisted of eleven hundred men, commanded by General Humbert. The garrison of the small town of Killala, only fifty in number, retreated, after a vain attempt to oppose the entrance of the French, who marching forward the following day, took possession of Ballina—a town seven miles to the south of Killala. Humbert, instead of pressing forward, as he was strongly advised to do, to the mountains of Ulster, the centre of the united Irish organization, and calling the people to arms, amused himself for a fortnight, drilling the peasantry of the neighbourhood, and enjoying the hospitality of the Bishop of Killala, who was in fact a prisoner in his own house. At length, quartering some troops in that

town, he moved to Castlebar, the county town of Mayo, where he defeated a body of royalists, which had been detached against him under General Lake. In consequence of this, for a few days, a general panic prevailed, when Lord Cornwallis marched in person to oppose him.

Humbert, having ordered the millitary, whom he had left at Killala, to join his main body, commenced a rapid march towards Sligo. General Lake hung on his rear; General Moore, at a greater distance, observed his motions; the lord lieutenant moved in a direction nearly parallel to his; while Colonel Vereker, of the city of Limerick militia, opposed him in front, and, after a desperate struggle, was obliged to retreat to Ballyshannon. The French general, conceiving the colonel's force to be the vanguard of a great army, altered his course, directing his march by Dromahair and Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim, and crossing the Shannon at Ballintra, arrived at Ballinamuck, in the county of Longford, on the 8th of September, closely pursued; while Lord Cornwallis, crossing the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched forward to intercept him in his way to Granard. Humbert, perceiving that he must soon be surrounded by the British forces, commenced an engagement. Most of his rear-guard quickly laid down their arms, the rest continued a defence for about half an hour, but on the approach of the main body under General Lake, surrendered also.*

* Humbert's appreciation of the gallant conduct of this officer was publicly testified a short time after the French commander had been made prisoner.

It is said that, dining one day at the mess of the — regiment, he was asked to give a toast, when he proposed that of "General Vereker." Being told, however, that he

A large body of insurgents persevered in rebellion in the county of Mayo. No part of the royal forces arrived in the neighbourhood of Killala till the 22nd of September, when, after some discharges of cannon and musketry, the rebel garrison at Ballina, with a French officer, its commander, fled to the former town, the only post remaining in their hands. The royal troops, amounting to 12,000, with five pieces of artillery, advanced to assail Killala in two columns by different roads. The rebels, driven from their post by a flanking fire, and nearly surrounded, fled in various directions.

The little army under Humbert had been only the vanguard of a more formidable expedition which was to follow. The news of his defeat threw the French directory into consternation, and they determined to send off a division under General Hardy to second his efforts; but such was the state of their navy and arsenals, it was not till the 20th of September that this last fleet, consisting of one ship of the line, (the *Hoche*,) and eight frigates, under Commodore Bompert, containing about 3,000 men, was ready for sailing. To avoid the British fleets, and bear down upon the northern coast of Ireland, the quarter from whence a French armament could be least expected, Bompert took a large sweep to the westward, and then to the north-east. Meeting, however, with contrary winds, his flotilla was scattered, the *Hoche* only, and three frigates, arriving on the 10th of October, in Lough Swilly, on the northern coast of Donegal. At break of day next morning, before he could enter the Lough or land his troops, he per-

was not a general, but only a colonel of militia: *Vraiment!* —*mais c'est dommage, dat is a pity!* for he is de only general I have met with since I came to Ireland.

ceived the squadron of Sir John Borlase Warren bearing down upon him. Seeing, therefore, no chance of escape, Bompert gave signals to the frigates to retreat through shallow water, and prepared with only the *Hoche*, on board of which was the indefatigable rebel Wolfe Tone, to attack the British admiral. Being quickly surrounded by four sail of the line and a frigate, he commenced a desperate engagement, which was sustained by the *Hoche* for six hours, when her masts and rigging were swept away—her deck flowed with blood—her wounded filled the cock-pit, and she floated a dismantled wreck upon the waters. Two of the frigates, the *Loire* and the *Resolue*, were soon overtaken; they made an honourable defence, but were at length obliged to strike; and of the other vessels, only two, after a thousand dangers, arrived at separate ports of France.

During the action, Tone had fought with the utmost desperation. Taken prisoner, however, along with the other officers, he was carried to the district of Letterkenny, where he was identified by Sir George Hill—brought to a court-martial, and being found guilty as a rebel and traitor, was sentenced to be hanged. He requested that he might be shot as a soldier, instead of being executed like a felon; but was informed that he must suffer as others had done, who had been taken in arms against the king. He desperately attempted to anticipate his punishment, by cutting his throat, and lingered for seven days and nights in silent agony. On the morning of the 19th he was seized with spasms, and hearing the surgeon who attended him whisper, that if he attempted to articulate he must die, he feebly tried to raise himself, and answered, "I can yet find words to thank you, sir; it is the most welcome news you

can give me." And falling back with these accents on his lips, he almost instantly expired.

Of those who had been leaders in the rebellion, hardly one escaped the hand of justice. The fate of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Jackson, Tone, and the fanatical priests, Roche, and Murphy has been already mentioned. Oliver Bond died of apoplexy, in prison; Bagenal Harvey, John and Henry Sheares, and Philip Roche, all were hanged; Mr. Simon Butler perished in extreme poverty in Scotland; Thomas Emmet, Hamilton Rowan, and Napper Tandy, were outlawed. As many as were convicted of being concerned in the massacre on Wexford bridge were, by the just sentence of the law, executed on the spot where they had perpetrated that dreadful atrocity, and where, with a barbarity revolting to human nature, they had placed the following inscription:—"Sacred to the Christian doctrine of sending Orangemen to the meadows of ease. June, 1798."

The history of this rebellion presents us with numerous instances of the manner in which ignorance and superstition expose the mind to the cruel, the designing, or the fanatical. Too late the misguided multitude perceived and bewailed their folly, and many of them died, execrating the ministers by whom they had been led astray; on the other hand, it affords an example no less impressive, of the power of ambition to blind the judgment of persons of talent and education. Many, like John Sheares, in their last moments lamented their error, or confessed, with Bagenal Harvey, that their first intention had been simple reform—that they had been led on, step by step, in guilt, but were not, until the last, aware that the designs of their con-

federates extended to the extermination of the Protestants. Deeply mortifying must it have been to such persons, when the veil was rent from their eyes, and they saw revealed, the motives by which priests and people confessed themselves to have been influenced. The ferocious Murphy, whom they considered to be especially protected by heaven, boldly avowed, towards the close of his career of blood, "that he had looked to the advancement of himself and a friend, expecting that the one would be Primate of Ireland, and the other Archbishop of Dublin." The same system of deception pervaded the bulk of the two parties who united to subvert the constitution in Ireland. Years after the rebellion had been crushed, and the angry feelings which it had excited been, in some degree, tranquillized by time, it was confessed by some of the Presbyterians, that so far from desiring that the Roman Catholics should really succeed in their views, they had endeavoured to raise the expectations of that body, in hopes that disappointment might exasperate it against the state, which they were anxious to *make its members more sanguine in their design to overthrow*; whilst, on the other hand, it transpired that the Romish party *considered their Presbyterian colleagues but as tools to effect their purpose of subverting the constitution*, and establishing a Romish Hierarchy, while they intended ultimately to destroy those Protestant colleagues, along with all other Irish Protestants. But a loftier reflection than any of the foregoing suggests itself to the reader—that, of the guardian care of PROVIDENCE, which "brought to nought the counsels" of these men—who led them to betray those counsels to their enemies—who filled their hearts with such terror, that a few frequently discomfited vast mul-

titudes, and who fought, by His instruments the elements, for the preservation of the church and state, in seasons when the help of man was unavailing

CHAPTER XXI.

GEORGE III.—CONTINUED.

1798 TO 1801.

WHEN the public mind had recovered, in some degree, from the shock of the rebellion, it began to turn towards a measure which had been, for some time, desired by a large party both in England and the sister kingdom—a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. It was advocated by many, who considered that, along with other advantages, it would produce the important one of doing away the jealousies of national distinctions, and the inconvenience of being ruled by two legislatures, mutually independent in appearance, but held in connexion by the preponderance of one. It is true that there were formidable obstacles in the way; amongst others, on the side of Ireland, national pride—on that of England, commercial jealousy. Whether the latter feeling bore an undue proportion in the cabinet of queen Anne, it is at this distance of time difficult to determine; but certain it is, that when in her reign the Irish peers expressed their wishes for a union, they were coldly received, and no further notice of them was taken. The subject was now viewed in a different light by the British ministry, and especially by that patriotic minister, Mr. Pitt, who nobly declared that “no apparent or probable difficulty—no fear of toil, or apprehension of loss of popularity—should restrain him from

making every exertion to accomplish the great work, on which, he was persuaded, depended the tranquillity of Ireland, the general interest of the British empire, and perhaps the happiness of a great part of the habitable world."

Whilst many of the Irish statesmen considered that solid advantages to the country would result from a union of the two kingdoms, a large proportion of the people, with Sir Lawrence Parsons, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Foster, speaker of the House of Commons, the Hon. George Ponsonby, and most of the bar, took an opposite view of the question; and so violent a sensation was caused by the bare proposal, that not less than thirty pamphlets were published on the subject in Ireland, and meetings were summoned by counties, corporations, and other aggregate bodies, to declare their opinions. In an assembly of lawyers held in Dublin, on the 9th of December, 1798, a resolution was voted by a majority of 166, that the measure of a legislative union was an innovation highly dangerous, and improper at that juncture; resolutions to the same effect were passed by the students of Trinity College, the lord mayor and corporation, and the bankers and merchants of Dublin.

The subject was recommended by the lord lieutenant to the particular consideration of parliament, in January, 1799, and an address favourable to it was voted by a large majority in the House of Lords, while by the Commons it was violently opposed. This important debate lasted twenty-two hours, and at its conclusion a majority of only one appeared in favour of the union. In this session an eloquent speech was made by Mr. Foster, in which he strongly deprecated such a connexion, for many reasons; especially as being likely in his opinion to tend more than any other measure which could be proposed,

to the *separation* of the sister kingdoms. Lord Cornwallis informed the two houses that the Lords and Commons of Britain had concurred in an address to the king, recommending the political incorporation proposed, with the mutual consent of both parliaments.

The question had been introduced into the British as well as the Irish houses on the 22nd of January, 1799, when Lord Grenville delivered a message from the king, recommending a union in the strongest terms, and stating his expectation that a review of all the circumstances which had recently occurred, would dispose the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide in the manner which they should judge most expedient for arranging such a complete and final adjustment as might best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential to their common security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire. On the following day the peers voted an address of thanks for his majesty's gracious communication, assuring him that they would maturely deliberate on the subject commended to their notice, and promote any adjustment for consolidating the general interests of the British empire.

In the English House of Commons, Mr. Sheridan made an animated speech against ministers bringing forward so precipitate a plan of union, intimating that his majesty's faithful Commons felt it their duty to implore his majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should seek to promote such a measure at the present crisis, and under the present circumstances of the empire ; the debate continued with great warmth, and was at last closed by Mr. Pitt moving an address to the king, stating that the Commons had given the question their best attention, and entertained a firm persuasion of the benefits of a

complete and entire incorporation, founded on equal and liberal principles. Mr. Sheridan persisted in opposing the minister, but on the division of the house, Mr. Pitt's resolution was carried, and the address was brought forward in the British House of Lords on the 19th of March, by Lord Grenville, who concluded a speech strongly in favour of the measure, with a request to the house to vote an address for the conclusion of a complete union. After a long and interesting debate, the house agreed to the resolution, and a day was fixed for proposing such an address to the throne.

The last Irish parliament assembled on the 15th of January, 1800, when a motion hostile to the proposed plan, was made by Sir Lawrence Parsons; but so successful had been the exertions, or so convincing the arguments of its upholders, that his motion was negatived by a large majority. On the 5th of the following month, Lord Castlereagh, the secretary of state for Ireland, read a message to the Commons from the lord lieutenant, informing them of the wishes of their sovereign in favour of incorporation, and solemnly recommending the subject to their consideration. He then proceeded to develop the plan, and the principles on which its several parts were grounded, representing it as one which would relieve the fears of those who dreaded Ireland's being burthened with the debt of Great Britain, one which would increase the sources of her commerce, would protect her manufactures, would secure to her the British market, would encourage agriculture, would put an end to religious jealousies by cementing the ecclesiastical establishment, and would ensure such a representation of the country as to set aside for ever the question of parliamentary reform.

On a division of the house, a majority of 158 to

115 appeared in favour of Lord Castlereagh's motion of taking into consideration his majesty's message. The votes of the peers were on the same side of the question : debates were renewed with vehemence in both houses, on the several articles of the plan ; at the head of the unionists was the Earl of Clare, the chancellor ; of the anti-unionists, the Right Hon. John Foster, the speaker.

The principal arguments alleged by those who voted in favour of the bill, were the following :—

That the Irish parliament, as then constituted, was not independent, but really in subordination to Britain, since it had no power to pass any act into a law until it had been returned under the seal of England—the lord lieutenant merely acting in obedience to the king's command, signified in his commission, or by the king's letter. It had been stated by the anti-unionists, that an Irish parliament ought naturally to be better acquainted with Irish affairs than a foreign one could be, for the same reason that a jury selected from the spot where an offence had been committed, was esteemed the best, from possessing local knowledge of the circumstances to be tried. On this point it was observed, that legislators finding the neighbourhood of a culprit exposed to prejudice, had altered the law regarding local juries, and allowed the whole country to be considered his vicinage ; and thus, the Irish parliament being removed from its own locality, and mixed with the English, possessed the advantages of local knowledge, while it was free from local prejudice. A parallel was drawn by Mr. Dundas, secretary of state, between the situation of Ireland and Scotland, in which he showed that France had laboured to prevent a union between the latter kingdom and that of England, from the time of Henry the Eighth, to the reign of Queen Anne, and that England was first in-

duced to become an advocate for such an incorporation from the pernicious effects experienced from French intrigue in Scotland. Ireland he represented to have fallen by various occurrences, into a situation exactly similar, France having endeavoured but too successfully to obtain a party there, and he stated that a consolidation of the powers of the whole empire would be the surest means of putting an end to that dangerous influence. The act of settlement of 1785, was declared to be inadequate to the wants of the country, providing no security for the permanence of the advantages to be obtained by it to Ireland, since that act, or any other, however beneficial, could be repealed by the British parliament; besides it consisted merely in the demolition of the injurious system by which the two kingdoms had been bound together, without substituting a better one in its place, and even at the time of its being passed had been deemed inefficient. The pecuniary resources of Ireland, it was represented, would be increased by a measure which should open the market of one country to the other, and afford them the common use of British capital. When commercial propositions had formerly been brought forward on the part of Ireland, they had been rejected by Great Britain, on the ground of concession being dangerous while the separation of the states was possible; but, once united, their interests, commercial as well as political, would become the same, as had been proved in Charles the Second's reign; when, on the Scotch complaining that more favour was shown to the Irish nation than to theirs, government stated in reply that Ireland was an appendage of the crown of England, bound by the same law, and under her absolute control, and that *therefore* any favour might be safely granted to her, but that the separate state and independence of Scotland would not allow of the same mode of treatment.

To these arguments were added many others respecting, more particularly, the internal connexion of Ireland with Great Britain—the disturbed state of the country was strongly brought forward—the cruelties exercised by her enemies, and the hostile divisions of her sects; to remedy all these grievances, it was alleged that no measure could be so effectual as the formation of a legislature removed from danger, and uninfluenced by the prejudices which sway society, and so likely to remedy the want of capital and of industry, the principal defects of Ireland, as mixing with a people who could amply supply both. Her religious differences, which were justly reckoned amongst her greatest misfortunes, were represented as being most probably removable by a united legislature, which might in time be able to redress the grievances of the Roman Catholics, without any risk to the Protestants; and even should an increase of absenteeism arise from a union, it was asserted that that disadvantage would be counterbalanced by the increasing predilection which such a change would probably bring about for English habits, and the English constitution; whilst by it, the absentee proprietors of the land would be replaced by a useful set of manufacturing or commercial men, who, by their skill would direct, and by their consumption encourage manufactures. In parliament, her representation would be, considering her size, in the same proportion as that of England—her taxes would be removed, and her metropolis would have no grounds to fear for its prosperity, as it would still continue to be the residence of the lord lieutenant, of the courts of law, of the revenue, of the university, and the head-quarters of the army; nor was its trade likely to be endangered, for as it would remain the seat of the treasury, and the national bank, it must

also continue to be the centre of exchange for general commerce ; and, consequently, enjoy a proportionably increased traffic.

To these arguments the following answers were given by those who were opposed to the measure.

The settlement of 1782 had been at that period considered final and adequate by both houses of parliament, and it was stated to have obtained for Ireland greater blessings than at any former period she had enjoyed—those of an increase of affluence, a flourishing trade, and an extended commerce. But that settlement was incompatible with a union, they were in direct opposition, and by the proposed measure an adjustment, which was sufficient for every purpose of happiness, must be annihilated. It was urged, that the true principle to which the stability of the British constitution is to be ascribed is the mutual balancing check of the two estates of parliament. The same principle might be applied to two separate parliaments, which, by a similar operation, tended to secure each other in their operations, so that their mingled powers, thus checked, preserved the symmetry of the whole. Far from strengthening the empire, it was stated, that an incorporation would materially weaken it, by debasing the spirit of Ireland, debilitating her resources, and reducing her to a state of subjugation. The most plausible theory it was urged, was often defeated by practice, as, in the instance of *juries from the vicinage*, which might justly be objected to, as proving liable to prejudice from friendship or animosity, which would not affect men collected from a remoter situation, and yet, experience had proved, that what might have been apprehended as an imperfection is that in which consists the peculiar excellence of such a mode of trial. Practice, in like manner, it was said, refuted

the theory which supposed, that a resident parliament might be influenced by the local prejudices and practices of the country whose interests were the objects of its concern, and which would, therefore, place those interests in the hands of a foreign parliament, ignorant of all attending circumstances. It was denied, that the example of Scotland bore upon Ireland, Scotland being connected with England by no other tie than the accident of the crown of England having descended to a Scotch king. She had no constitution—the two parliaments sat together. Scotland, depressed in trade, and subject to mischievous foreign influence, was fortunate in obtaining, by incorporation with a rich and, hitherto inimical nation, the advantages of an increasing commerce. But not one of those circumstances were applicable to Ireland. It was stated to be an exaggeration, and an insult to the feelings of Irishmen, to represent their country as torn by contending domestic parties; its chief danger arose from its geographical relation to France, and its physical position on the globe, which a union with England could neither alter nor remove. But, supposing that such domestic strife did exist, it was strongly alleged that it would be every way increased by augmenting the number of *middlemen* or persons interposed between the proprietors and the occupiers of the soil, who were chiefly to be found on the estates of absentees. If a resident parliament and resident gentry could not soften the manners, amend the habits, and promote the social intercourse of the inhabitants, it was denied that there was any chance of such objects being effected by removing the parliament, lessening the number of gentry, encouraging land-jobbers, and degrading the hospitality of the ancient mansion into the penury of an agent's dwelling. It was stated to

be absurd to suppose, that in points of internal policy, or the arrangement with regard to religion and the Roman Catholic claims, a foreign uninformed assembly could be a more competent judge than one which was acquainted with the local circumstances upon which depended the expediency or the danger of compliance, and equally absurd to speak of the representation of Ireland in parliament as being at all proportionate to that of England, by such a mockery as one hundred members amongst five hundred and fifty-eight; and it was urged upon the consideration of all who were capable of giving consideration to the matter, that the metropolis would be materially and irrevocably injured in her prosperity in every way—her splendour would be effaced, her streets become a desert—her halls, her university, her courts of law would be silent, and her future state would resemble the ruined walls of Babylon. Deserted by her parliament, and resident gentry, the loss of trade would soon follow, and carry with it the speedy reduction of rents not only in Dublin and its neighbourhood, but in every part of Ireland.

In the course of the contest, the strength of the anti-unionists gradually declined, and on the 21st of May, 1800 when a motion was made that the bill should be read in the House of Commons, permission was given by a majority of 160 to 100. On the 26th, the second reading took place. On the 5th of June, the bill passed the committee, and an address to the king, supposed to be written by Mr. Grattan, as a protest to posterity against the measure, was negatived by a majority of 135 to 77. The bill was carried up to the house of Lords, and discussed there, and, on the 27th, the peers, intimated to the other house, that they had adopted the measure, as proposed, with some alterations and amendments,

which were afterwards approved of by the Commons. On the suggestion of Lord Castlereagh, an address was presented to his majesty, declaring that both houses cordially embraced the principles of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland; that they considered the resolutions of the British parliament as wisely calculated to be the basis of such a settlement, and that these resolutions, they were now ready to confirm, in order that the same might be established with the mutual consent of both parliaments.

Thus sanctioned in Ireland, it was introduced to the British Commons by Mr. Pitt, sent up to the peers, on the 24th of June, and, on the 2nd of July it received the Royal assent. On the 31st of December, the British parliament was prorogued, and on the 22nd of January 1801, the IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT met, for the first time. In the change of the regal title, the claim of his majesty to the kingdom of France, was judiciously omitted, and the monarch was styled "OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH," &c. On the same day, the great seal of Britain was delivered up, and defaced, and a new seal for the empire was given to the Lord Chancellor. A new standard, also combining the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted, amidst the discharge of artillery in each of the three capitals of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the new year, thus rendered peculiarly memorable was ushered in with every description of rejoicing.

The bill, as ratified by the king, contained eight articles; by the first three, a union of the two realms, a confirmation of the Protestant succession, and a consolidation of the parliaments were enacted; the fourth, adjusted the modes of securing the inte-

rests of Ireland in the combined legislative body. For that purpose, four prelates were ordered to sit alternately in each session, and twenty-eight lay peers were to be chosen for life; while two members for each of the thirty-two counties, and thirty six for the University, for cities, and for boroughs, formed the Irish portion of the House of Commons. The fifth article united the churches of England and Ireland, leaving that of Scotland still distinct. By the sixth, it was provided that the people of Great Britain and Ireland should be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties, or articles of commerce, being the growth, production, or manufacture of either country. The seventh, left the public debt of each realm on a separate basis with regard to interest and final liquidation; and required that the expenditure of the United Kingdom should be defrayed, in the proportion of fifteen parts for Britain, and two parts for Ireland; but, at the lapse of twenty years, it was to be at the option of parliament to continue this arrangement, or to determine upon a new rate. The eighth article, provided for the maintenance of the laws which were then in force, and the preservation of the regular courts of judicature, subject, however, to such occasional alterations as might appear to the legislature to be expedient.

Thus was completed this great measure, by which the two countries were united in government, in law and in interests, as well civil as commercial. Of the national benefits derived, on the whole, to Ireland, there can, in the present day, be no doubt. The rapid increase of trade—the improvement of agriculture, in all its branches—the freedom from custom duties—from all direct taxation, and from the bur-

then of her national debt, which England generously took upon herself, all declare the advantages which have been gained. On the other hand, absenteeism, which at all times prevailed, has been greatly increased, causing much injury to the country, by drawing out of it the incomes of the absent gentry—by the loss of the influence which, if resident, they might usefully exert—by the want of their expenditure amongst the people—by the diminution of encouragement to labour, and to manufacture, which their consumption would create—by the moral loss of their example—by the removal of some of the public offices from this country to London—and by the repression, through ignorance and commercial jealousy of the local advantages, of some branches of manufacture and cultivation, which were prospering, and giving employment to numbers.

Of the predictions, uttered during the stormy debates on both sides of the question, few have been entirely fulfilled. English capital, and skill in manufacture, have not flowed into the country, as was expected; while, on the other hand, poverty, degradation, and grass-grown streets, have not fallen upon it, but, on the contrary, wealth, commerce, and civilization have increased, and will still further increase, as peace and security of property afford the true protection to industry and prosperity.

CHAPTER XXII.

GEORGE III.—CONTINUED.

1801 to 1820.

THE Irish Catholics had not been unfavourably disposed to the Union, for Mr. Pitt had held out hopes that it would lead to a redress of their grievances. Early in 1801, Mr. Pitt represented to the

king the advisability of the admission of Catholics to municipal offices and to parliament, and submitted various arguments to prove that such a measure would not only further the tranquillity of Ireland, and tend to the improvement of the country; but would prove to be beneficial to the general interest of the United Kingdom. The king, however, was entirely opposed to any concession, and in consequence Mr. Pitt resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Addington.

In 1803, a fresh insurrection broke out, known by the name of *Emmet's Rebellion*. The head of the conspiracy was Robert Emmet, a youth of about twenty-two years of age, who had been implicated with his brother Thomas in the rebellion of 1798. While Emmet, by a liberal expenditure of money, was gaining adherents in Dublin, his confederates were engaged in other parts of the country. The chief of these were Russell, formerly an officer in the king's service, who was at work in the north, and Quigley, a native of Kildare, who had been outlawed in 1798, and was now actively plotting in his own county. The government soon became aware of the existence of the plot; but when the moment of outbreak came they were taken by surprise. The 23rd of July was the night chosen by the conspirators for an attack on Dublin Castle. Quigley had succeeded so well in Kildare, that a large body of the peasantry of that county had assembled in Dublin, while Russell had engaged to attempt a similar rising in Belfast. On the evening of July 23rd, the peasantry and the rabble of Dublin assembled in St. James's Street, and its neighbourhood. Soon pikes were distributed amongst them; and, a rocket having been sent up as a signal, Emmet appeared in a uniform of green and gold,

with a pair of pistols at his side, and a drawn sword in his hand, and called upon the mob to follow him to the castle. A rush was made in that direction; but it soon appeared that the rabble were more intent on murder and plunder, than on an attack upon the castle. In less than half an hour, Emmet and his staff, finding themselves powerless to control the mob, disappeared from the scene, and hid themselves. Left to themselves, the mob attacked the debtors' prison, shot the corporal of the guard, and then ran off. Lord Kilwarden, the chief justice, happening to pass in his carriage, accompanied by his daughter and nephew, the mob tore them out, and killed the old man and his nephew, allowing the daughter to escape. Colonel Brown and a few soldiers were also shot. When a party of 150 soldiers appeared on the scene, the rabble screamed in terror, and as many as could ran off at full speed. Another party of fifty fired upon them as they fled in all directions, leaving about a dozen of their number killed, many more wounded, and a great number taken prisoners. At Emmet's depôt were found a large quantity of ball-cartridges, hand-grenades, gunpowder, pikes, uniforms, and colours, and several thousand copies of a proclamation from "The Provisional Government." Emmet fled to the Wicklow mountains, but afterwards returned to Dublin, where he was seized and executed. Russell's attempt to make a rising in the North was a failure, and, appearing in Dublin, he shared the fate of Emmet. Quigley and others were also arrested, but were spared on making a disclosure of the circumstances connected with the plot. In consequence of this outbreak, an act for the suspension of Habeas Corpus, and the prolongation of martial law, was passed in parliament.

In May, 1804, Mr. Pitt again became premier, on the resignation of the Addington ministry. Early in 1805, the Catholic emancipation question was the subject of lengthened debates in parliament; on which occasion Grattan, the famous Irish orator, for the first time addressed the imperial parliament; but the opposition to the measure was overpowering. In 1807, the ministry of Lord Grenville, which had been formed on the death of Mr. Pitt, in January, 1806, brought forward a bill to enable Catholics to become officers in the army and navy; but the scruples of the king were not to be overcome. He not only ordered the bill to be withdrawn; but demanded a pledge that they would not again offer any measure proposing concessions to the Catholics. Refusing to give this pledge, the ministry resigned. After this, Catholic emancipation was the subject of discussion in parliament almost every year.

Owing to the disturbed state of the country this year, Sir Arthur Wellesley, secretary to the lord lieutenant, found it necessary to bring in an insurrection bill, giving power to the lord lieutenant to proclaim disturbed counties, and authorizing the arrest of all persons in the proclaimed district who should be found out of their houses between sunset and sunrise. An arms bill was also passed, requiring all who had arms to have them registered, and authorizing domiciliary visits in search of arms.

The king had, several times during his reign, been subject to mental aberrations. In 1810, his intellect completely gave way, and the Prince of Wales was appointed regent.

Catholic emancipation soon became the cause of great agitation and excitement in Ireland. In 1810, "*The Catholic Committee*," consisting of an influential body of peers and commoners, was formed to

manage the preparation of petitions to parliament. The magnitude this body began to assume, and the violent speeches, not always confined to the subject of emancipation, that were made at its meetings, soon attracted the attention of the government; and, in 1811, the lord lieutenant ordered the arrest of persons found actively engaged in forming this "unlawful assembly." This led to numerous arrests of persons attending its meetings, and to frequent dispersions of the meetings by the police. The committee, however, persisted in assembling, and, in 1812, petitioned the Prince Regent against their grievances.

Catholic emancipation was consequently the subject of more than usually excited debates in parliament in 1812. In 1813, an emancipation bill was brought in by Mr. Grattan, but was received with so much opposition, that it had to be withdrawn. The violence of the priest-party in Ireland checked the progress of emancipation. The Catholics formed Ribbon Societies, which led to the formation of Orange Societies on the Protestant side, and much contention ensued. In 1814, the disturbances being so numerous, and the Catholic Committee insisting upon nothing less than unrestricted emancipation, Mr. Grattan postponed any further movement in the question for another year. This year the proceedings of the Catholic Committee became so violent, that the lord lieutenant declared it illegal and prohibited its meeting.

During 1815, the country was in a more disturbed state than ever, and the Insurrection act was renewed. The Catholics this year, under Mr. Daniel O'Connell, formed themselves into a new body, afterwards famous as the Catholic Association. The Catholic claims continued to be debated and defeated

in each session of parliament during this and the next four years. In 1819, a motion on the subject was brought forward by Mr. Grattan, but was lost by a majority of two. This was the last occasion on which the eloquence of the great Irish orator was heard in parliament on the important question he had so much at heart. He died on June 4th, 1821, universally regretted.

On the 29th of January, 1820, George the Third died at Windsor, in the eighty-second year of his age, after a reign of sixty years, the last ten of which had been spent in seclusion. His queen had died in 1818; and his fourth son, the Duke of Kent, died a few days before him, leaving an only daughter, the Princess Victoria, who afterwards became queen.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GEORGE IV.—WILLIAM IV.

1820 to 1837.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of George III. the prince regent was proclaimed king, under the title of George the Fourth. The new king was crowned in July, 1821, and in August paid a visit to Ireland. Being the first sovereign who had visited the country since William III., he was received with enthusiastic loyalty by all classes of the people.

It was hoped that the king's visit would tend to tranquillize Ireland; but this proved a vain expectation; for scarcely had the king left ere disturbances were renewed in various parts. Bands of Whiteboys scoured the country, attacking and plundering the houses of the gentry, and murdering their inmates. The murder of the Shea family in Tipperary is a frightful specimen of the savage crimes

that were perpetrated at this time. Some of Shea's tenants would neither pay their rent nor work it out. He therefore removed them, and brought labourers from a neighbouring village. For this act his farm-house and offices were burned, and seventeen persons,—Shea, his wife, seven children, three female servants, and five labourers,—were either shot, or thrust back into the flames as they attempted to escape. To check these disorders the Insurrection act was again imposed, and the Habeas Corpus act suspended; a body of armed police was formed, and stipendiary magistrates appointed.

Dreadful retribution followed this period of outrage. In April, 1822, a famine broke out in Munster and Connaught. Heavy rains rotted the potatoes in the ground. "The people ate their potatoes till no more were to be had; and then they took to oatmeal, till they had no means of purchase left; and then they crowded the roads and towns to beg, or stole away into hiding-places, to die of hunger. And typhus-fever followed upon the famine, quelling rebellion itself in destitution and woe." * Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were placed at the disposal of the lord lieutenant to relieve the distress, and subscriptions in England amounted to a quarter of a million more. Insurrection was hushed for a time, but as the winter set in outrage revived.

The viceroy at this time was the Marquis of Wellesley, who was known to be favourable to the Catholic claims. He rendered himself unpopular to the Orange party by suppressing their offensive demonstrations. An equestrian statue of William III. had been erected on the College Green, Dublin, in 1701. Twice a year, on the anniversaries of the

* "History of the Peace." By Harriet Martineau.

Battle of the Boyne and the birthday of King William, (Nov. 4th,) the Orange party had the statue cleaned and decorated with orange ribbons. This custom having been the source of numerous riots in Dublin, the Marquis of Wellesley prohibited its renewal in 1822. For this act he received no small share of abuse from the Protestant press, and on his visit to the theatre, on December 14th, he was received with hisses, the performance was interrupted by the Orangemen, and a bottle, thrown at the state-box, passed within a few inches of the viceroy's head.

Mr. Canning this year brought forward in Parliament a bill to enable Catholic peers to sit in the House of Lords. It passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords on its second reading.

In 1824, the *Catholic Association*, under the leadership of Mr. O'Connell, began to hold meetings openly. Like its predecessor, the Catholic Committee, its avowed object was the preparation of petitions to parliament on the Catholic claims; but it soon began to assume the position of a parliament itself. It had regular sittings in Dublin, nominated committees, ordered a census of the population, and collected a tribute, called *The Catholic Rent*. The contributions to this fund for carrying on the work of agitation were said to be voluntary, and amounted at times to as much as £50 in a day. These proceedings had not been unnoticed by the Government, and in March, 1825, a bill was passed to dissolve the Association. This, however, was of little use, for the members immediately united in a fresh Association, so formed as to evade the act. During the same session of parliament the Catholic Relief bill passed the Commons by a majority of

twenty-seven, but was thrown out by a majority of forty-eight in the Lords. In 1826, nothing was done on this subject, beyond the presentation of petitions.

In January, 1827, the Duke of York, who had strongly opposed the Catholic claims, died. In February the cabinet was dissolved, owing to the illness of Lord Liverpool. Mr. Canning then became premier, but died in August. He was succeeded by Lord Goderich, who was followed by the Duke of Wellington, in 1828. This year is remarkable for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, passed in the reign of Charles II., which excluded Dissenters from sitting in Parliament, or holding public offices, unless they took the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church. The repeal of these enactments opened the way for the removal of the Catholic disabilities, which question was immediately brought forward.

During the administration of Mr. Canning the Catholics had been quiet; but when the Duke of Wellington assumed office they became violent; for they knew he was opposed to their claims. Mr. O'Connell and the Catholic Committee now redoubled their exertions on behalf of the cause. The representative in parliament of the county of Clare, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, had become President of the Board of Trade in the new administration. He was favourable to the Catholic Relief, and no doubt was entertained of his being again returned; but the Catholic leaders had resolved that Mr. O'Connell should be elected for Clare. Every corner of the county was soon in a state of the greatest excitement. When the day of election arrived, the electors, entirely in the hands of the priests, were led in bands into Ennis with the watchword "For God

and O'Connell!" After a few days' contest Mr. Fitzgerald was obliged to withdraw, and Mr. O'Connell was returned. The session of parliament lasted but three weeks after the election, and during that time Mr. O'Connell did not claim his seat for Clare; so that he had no opportunity of showing what he would have done when called upon to take the oaths against Popish doctrines. The Catholic Association now pushed forward preparations to get Catholics elected for all the counties as occasion offered. The state of society at this time may be inferred from an extract from the speech of Mr. Sheil at a mass meeting in Munster: "Does not a tremendous organization extend over the whole island? Have not all the natural bonds by which men are tied together been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society, which exist elsewhere, gone? Has not property lost its influence? has not rank been stripped of the respect which should belong to it? and has not an internal government grown up, which, gradually superseding the legitimate authorities, has armed itself with a complete domination? Is it nothing that the whole body of the clergy are alienated from the State, and that the Catholic gentry, and peasantry, and priesthood, are all combined in one vast confederacy?"

During the recess the Catholic Association resumed its original form; Orange clubs sprang up and collected a Protestant Rent in imitation of the Catholic fund; and conflicts between Catholics and Protestants became of daily occurrence, although the Catholic Association and Mr. O'Connell did all in their power to keep down disturbance. Dr. Curtis, the Catholic primate, a friend of the Duke of Wellington, wrote to the Duke on the state of Ireland, and received a reply, which, when published,

the Catholic Association fastened upon as being a declaration of the premier in favour of emancipation. A copy of the correspondence having been sent to the Marquis of Anglesea, the lord lieutenant, he replied, recommending the continuance of the Catholic agitation. For this he was recalled.

Notwithstanding the apparent opposition of the cabinet to Catholic emancipation, the speech from the throne on the opening of the session of 1829 recommended the removal of the Catholic disabilities. A new act was passed to put down the Catholic Association, but before it came into force the association dissolved itself. On the 10th of April the bill for the relief of the Catholics was passed by large majorities, and received the royal assent on the 13th. It was accompanied by another bill, which disfranchised the forty shilling freeholders, whose electoral power, they being entirely led by the priests, would have fallen into the hands of the Catholic leaders.

Mr. O'Connell now presented himself to parliament as member for Clare; but his election having taken place previous to the Emancipation Act, he was called upon to take the oaths. This he refused to do. Ultimately, a new writ was issued, and he was again returned without opposition.

The king did not long survive to see the effect of the measures which had been forced upon him. He died on the 26th of June, 1830, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, after a reign of eleven years, previous to which he had for ten years been regent.

George IV. was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, who came to the throne as William the Fourth.

Notwithstanding the removal of the Catholic disabilities Ireland was far from being tranquil. Mr.

O'Connell, not content with the success he had already achieved in the great work of emancipation, chose for himself a new object of agitation,—*the Repeal of the Union*. In his addresses to the people he promised them a parliament in Dublin, Irish laws, and the exclusion of British commerce. In 1829, an Anti-Union Association had been formed under his auspices, and an *O'Connell tribute* was collected to defray the expenses of the agitator. In 1830, the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, prohibiting the meetings of anti-union societies. O'Connell and his friends met in spite of the proclamation, and were brought to trial (February, 1831). They pleaded guilty, but were not brought up for judgment.

The support of the Established Church by the payment of tithes had long been a grievance to the Catholics in Ireland, for the Establishment numbered little more than 800,000 amongst a population of from six to seven millions. Opposition to the collection of tithes led to numerous outrages in 1831. Tithe-collectors were murdered; cattle were driven from the pastures, and the pastures broken up, to prevent the owners paying tithes; fights between the peasantry and the police and military were of frequent occurrence, and many lives were lost on both sides; till at length the collection of tithes was almost abandoned. Various measures were tried for the settlement of this question. In 1833 the government paid as much as a million of pounds to the clergy in lieu of tithes for the two previous years, and took upon themselves the levying of arrears. Hitherto the Establishment had been under four archbishops and eighteen bishops, but this year the number of archbishops was reduced to two, and that of the bishops to ten, and a tax was

levied on the incomes of the clergy to provide a fund for the repair of churches.

To check the fearful disturbances in the country this year a Coercion bill had been passed by Lord Grey, which enabled the lord lieutenant to proclaim martial law where necessary, and to prohibit political meetings. This act having worked well, it was proposed to renew it in 1834; but differences in the cabinet on this question led to the retirement of Lord Grey. He was succeeded by Lord Melbourne, whose first act was to carry a new Coercion bill, which omitted the clauses of its predecessor prohibiting political meetings.

In 1828, a committee of the House of Commons had recommended the adoption of a system of national education, "which should afford, if possible, a combined literary, and separate religious, education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevail in Ireland, as to render it, in truth, a separate system of national education for the poorer classes of the community." The system was established in 1833, and in 1841 the number of schools in operation had increased from 789, in 1834, to 2,337, and the number of scholars from 107,042 to 281,849.

The tithe collection was still the cause of fierce outrage. In 1834 took place the "Slaughter of Rathcormack." A clergyman, on a tithe-collecting excursion, being accompanied by the military for protection, a number of peasants, who were opposed to the collection, shut themselves up in a yard from the soldiers, who, forcing the gate, fired upon the men, killing thirteen and wounding eight of them.

In 1835, Orange Societies, which had commenced in Ireland in 1795, had increased to such an extent, not only in Ireland, but also in Great Britain and the

colonies, that they numbered 175,000 members in Ireland and 140,000 in Great Britain. The existence of such societies in the army led to the discussion of their legality in parliament, which in 1836 declared the necessity for their suppression. On this the societies dissolved themselves.

Early in 1837 the ministry again introduced into the House of Commons a bill for the settlement of the Irish tithe question ; but before this had been carried William IV. died, on the 20th of June, in the seventy-second year of his age, after a reign of seven years.

CHAPTER XXIV.

VICTORIA.

1837 TO 1873.

WILLIAM IV. was succeeded by his niece, the Princess Victoria, only child of the late Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. She ascended the throne as Queen Victoria, having just completed her eighteenth year, and, on the 10th of February, 1840, was married to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg.

In 1838, Father Mathew appeared in Cork as the great missionary of the temperance movement, which had been commenced in 1829, and which was productive of immense good to Ireland. Such was the zeal of Father Mathew, and so successful were his efforts, that within a few months he obtained, in Cork alone, 150,000 converts to temperance principles. He afterwards made a progress through the west, and ultimately traversed the greater part of the country, the people following him in crowds to take the pledge. The results of his labours

were not unmarked. In 1829, Ireland had spent £6,000,000 on proof-spirits alone; but in two years from the time that Father Mathew commenced his work the consumption amounted to little more than half that sum, the number of those who had taken the pledge exceeding two and a half millions. The good Father's labours were recognised by the state, and a pension of £300 a year was granted him from the civil list. He died on December 8th, 1856.

In 1838, a tithe act was passed by the legislature, converting the tithe into a rent charge, to be paid by the landowners. In the same year the Irish poor law act was passed; and in 1840 the Irish municipal bill, which had been brought forward four years in succession, became law.

During the Melbourne administration, Mr. O'Connell had been a supporter of the government, and the repeal agitation had slumbered; but as soon as Sir Robert Peel came into power in 1841, Mr. O'Connell commenced his "monstrous" agitation for the repeal of the Union. He accepted the office of lord mayor of Dublin, a dignity which he had hitherto declined, but which he now thought might serve him by the facilities it would afford for the extension of the repeal cause. In March, 1843, he carried a repeal petition to parliament by an overwhelming majority in the corporation. This was followed by his famous "monster meetings." The first of these was held at Trim, (March 16th, 1843,) at which 30,000 persons were present. At Mullingar, (May 14th,) where nearly 130,000 were assembled, it was declared that every Catholic bishop in Ireland was a repealer. At Tara, (August 15th,) where the number present has been differently estimated at from 500,000 to 2,000,000, he declared that before twelve months could elapse a parliament would be

sitting in College Green, Dublin. The government had thus far taken no notice of the repeal meetings; but the preparations for a monster meeting to be held at Clontarf, three miles from Dublin, on October 8th, were of such a nature that they thought it time to interfere. On the afternoon of the 7th, a proclamation was issued, prohibiting the meeting, which was therefore abandoned. Soon afterwards, (January, 1844,) O'Connell, his son, Thomas Steele, some editors of newspapers, and two priests, were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. The trial lasted for several months, and they were found guilty. O'Connell was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £2,000, and was bound over to keep the peace for seven years. The others, with the exception of a priest, who escaped altogether, were each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, a fine of £50, and a security for future peaceable conduct. An appeal being afterwards made to the House of Lords, the judgment was reversed, and O'Connell and his friends were set at liberty. From this time O'Connell's career was over,—his spirit was broken. After a short time he retired in bad health to the Continent, and died at Genoa in 1847. The news of his death reached Dublin on May 25th, when the corporation met, and adjourned for three weeks as a mark of respect for his memory. All over the country bells were rung, and prayers and masses said for the repose of his soul; and when, on August 5th, his remains were conveyed for interment to the cemetery of Glasnevin, Dublin, no fewer than 50,000 persons of all classes followed the funeral train.

In 1844, a measure passed the legislature for the better security and administration of charitable and

religious trusts. Hitherto the board of administration had consisted almost exclusively of Protestants; but under the new act the commissioners were the Catholic primate, the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, and three Catholic laymen, together with four prelates and laymen of the Established Church, and one Presbyterian minister. In June, 1845, Sir Robert Peel succeeded, notwithstanding fierce opposition among Protestants of all classes, both in England and Ireland, in passing a bill for the enlargement and improvement of the college at Maynooth, intended for the education of students for the Catholic priesthood. A vote of £30,000 was granted for the enlargement of the college, and the annual parliamentary grant was increased from £9,000 to £26,360. This measure has been the subject of controversy among Protestants ever since. A more important measure was passed in the following month, when three new colleges were instituted to afford collegiate education of the highest order to the youth of all religious denominations, irrespective of religious distinctions. The sum voted for their erection was £100,000, and that for their maintenance £18,000 annually. The colleges have since been erected at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, under the name of Queen's Colleges, and in 1850 were incorporated into one university, termed the Queen's University.

The year 1846 was one of unusual distress. The potato-crop had failed. Assassination and crimes of violence were of frequent occurrence. There was also a universal mania among the peasantry for the possession of arms. A gentleman passing along the road from Limerick one market-day counted as many as 146 guns in the hands of peasants, supposed to have been purchased in the city that day. Instances

were not uncommon of peasants driving pigs to market, armed with guns, and cartridge-boxes at their sides. The government of Sir Robert Peel this year introduced a bill for the protection of life. It was, however, defeated, and the ministry resigned. The same evening Sir Robert Peel's corn laws bill passed the Lords. The administration of Lord John Russell, which followed, also attempted to pass an arms act for Ireland, but were forced to abandon it. To relieve the distress a bill was passed to employ the starving peasants on public works, giving them wages at from one shilling to eightpence per day.

In 1847, the country was in a worse condition than ever. Famine was accompanied by pestilence ; and the details of starvation and disease ravaging whole parishes, and defying the utmost efforts of local assistance, are of the most harrowing description. Bills for the immediate relief of the destitute, for the repression of crime, and the amendment of the poor laws, were passed this year ; and grants from parliament, amounting in the whole to ten millions of pounds, were made for the relief of the people.

Ever since the agitation under O'Connell, the repeal cry had to some extent been kept up. Mr. Smith O'Brien, M.P. for Limerick, who had become a convert to the repeal cause in 1843, headed the "Young Ireland" party, which, dissatisfied with the comparatively peaceful proceedings of O'Connell, insisted upon action and an appeal to the sword. In 1848, O'Brien, Meagher, and O'Gorman constituted themselves the bearers of an address from the Irish people to the French nation. They went to Paris, ostensibly to congratulate the French on their change of government, but really to make such arrangements as would enable them in the event of an outbreak at home to get assistance and

sympathy from France. They met, however, with but a cool reception. In the early part of the year threats of a general rebellion were openly thrown out, but little attention was paid to them. The government, however, were on the alert. During the last week in July it became known that the leaders of the Young Ireland party had joined their adherents in the south, and were said to have reviewed large bodies of insurgents. On the 26th, the Habeas Corpus act was suspended, and warrants issued for the arrest of O'Brien, Meagher, Dillon, and Doheny. On the 29th, on the common at Boulagh, near Ballingarry, a collision took place between the rebels and the police. Three of the former were shot and several wounded. Smith O'Brien, who was at the head of the insurgents, fled, but was arrested at Thurles, on August 5th. A few days after, his confederates were also arrested. O'Brien, M'Manus, O'Donoghue, and Meagher were tried, in September, at Clonmel, found guilty, and sentenced to death. The sentence was afterwards commuted to transportation for life, and in 1856 Smith O'Brien received a full pardon, with liberty to return to his country.

In 1849, though no parties were up in arms against the crown, yet the secret societies which had organized the late insurrection were still exercising their influence, a spirit of disaffection was prevalent, and rent riots were very common. The government therefore passed a bill continuing the suspension of Habeas Corpus. The potato crop this year failed as completely as it had done in 1846, and there was an increased amount of destitution and distress. To assist this a sum of £50,000 was granted by parliament. In May, a rate-in-aid bill was passed, requiring each union to pay a sum equal

to the rate of 6d. in the pound on each electoral division towards a general fund for the relief of the poor; but before this bill had passed the destitution became so extreme that the £50,000 formerly voted was quite exhausted, and the necessity for immediate further relief became urgent. In these circumstances the sum of £100,000 was at once advanced by government in anticipation of the rate-in-aid bill. In this session, also, a bill to facilitate the transfer of encumbered estates was passed, and the poor law amended.

The act making party processions illegal having expired, both Orange and Ribbon-men seemed to consider themselves at liberty to renew their usual customs. The former resolved to commemorate the battle of the Boyne on July 12th, by a visit of congratulation to Lord Roden on his birthday. To reach his lordship's house, they had to pass a steep ridge, called Dolly's Brae, across which there was a strong pass. Arriving there, they found the heights occupied by armed Ribbonmen, and a strong force of military and police stationed to keep the peace. On their return from Lord Roden's, a collision took place between the Orangemen and Ribbonmen. The soldiers and police joining in the affray, four of the Ribbonmen were killed, and thirty or forty either wounded or made prisoners. The Orangemen, having the best of the fight, only a few of their number being wounded, are said to have committed several personal outrages and set fire to some houses. In consequence of this outbreak, Earl Roden was dismissed from his lieutenancy, and several magistrates from the commission.

In August this year, the Queen, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal, visited Ireland. They landed, on the 3rd, at

Cove, where her majesty informed the deputation that received her that the place should henceforth bear the name of Queen's Town, in commemoration of her visit. After a visit to Cork, the royal party arrived, on the 6th, in Dublin, where the queen held a court and levée at the castle, both of which were numerously attended. Before leaving the island, they visited Belfast. Throughout her progress in Ireland, the queen was everywhere received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty; and it is matter for congratulation that, notwithstanding the unhappy dissensions in Ireland, the people are all united in their attachment to their sovereign.

In 1850, further advances were made for the relief of distressed unions, making the whole repayable amount that had been advanced since 1839, £4,783,000. Owing to the reduction of numbers which had taken place in the constituencies from the late distress, the franchise was this year extended to occupiers of land to the amount of £8 per annum. Numerous murders of landlords by discontented tenants occurred this year.

On June 1st, 1852, the submarine telegraph from Holyhead to Dublin, by Howth, was completed. On May 12th, 1853, the Industrial Exhibition was opened in Dublin by the lord lieutenant. The exhibition owed its origin to the public spirit of Mr. Dargan, who advanced the sum of £80,000 for its erection. The whole building occupied an area of 210,000 square feet. The exhibition contained many excellent specimens of the manufactures of Ireland, and of its various branches of industrial wealth. It was thronged by large numbers of people daily, and on August 30th was visited by the Queen, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred. The royal party afterwards honoured Mr. Dargan

with a visit at his seat, Mount Annville, and spent the three following days in visits to the exhibition, the castle, the national schools, and other public institutions.

In 1857, a statue which had been erected in Limerick to the popular "Liberator," O'Connell, was uncovered, on August 15th, in presence of an immense crowd and amid great enthusiasm. In 1859, religious riots occurred in Galway, and religious revivals were common throughout the north.

In 1861, the Prince of Wales being on duty at the Curragh Camp, the Queen, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Princesses Alice and Helena, and Prince Arthur, again visited Dublin, arriving on August 22nd. Next day the Prince Consort visited the Prince of Wales at the camp, and on his return accompanied the Queen to the Fine Arts Exhibition. On the 24th, her majesty was present at a grand review of the troops in the Curragh Camp, amounting to about 10,000 men. The royal visitors left Dublin on the 26th for the Killarney lakes, where they spent some days, during which they visited Killarney House, the seat of Lord Castlerosse, and Muckross House, the seat of Mr. Herbert. Before leaving Ireland, his term of duty at the camp having expired, the Prince of Wales on September 10th presented new colours to the 36th regiment, and on the following day attended a ball given by the lord mayor of Dublin. The close of the year was marked by an event which spread a gloom over the whole kingdom and plunged the nation in mourning. The Prince Consort, who, for a few days, had been suffering from fever, expired on December 14th, to the inexpressible grief of the Queen and all her subjects.

1875. The present condition of Ireland appears to be more peaceful and contented than it has been

for many years past. The influence of civilization has begun to take effect, and with it the irresistible spread of intelligence, which has led to a steady improvement in agriculture, manufactures, and the general dissemination of the allied arts and sciences. The impulse thus given cannot fail to advance, from the facilities for communication and general contact with the outer world, supplied by the railways, steam navigation, postal and telegraphic systems, and cheap daily news and literature of the age; and the peasantry will at length see by their own unaided intelligence the lesson of all human history, that no nation can be great and prosperous which depends so much as they have long and persistently done on agriculture as the chief source of national wealth; but that the mere cultivator of the soil is and ever must be the worst paid and the lowest in condition, as well as the least intelligent, of the people in any nation. In 1874, Her Majesty the Queen created his Royal Highness Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught,—a singularly appropriate title to the descendant of Roderic, Ireland's last native king.

CHAPTER XXV.

PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

Area and Population.—Ireland comprises an area of 20,815,460 acres, or 32,524 square miles, one-seventh consisting of turf or peat-bog.

The population, according to the census returns, amounted in

1841 to	8,196,597	DECREASE.
1851 „	6,574,278	1,622,319
1861 „	5,798,967	775,311
1871 „	5,402,759	396,208

The numbers include the men of the army and

navy serving in Ireland, with their families. The decrease between 1841 and 1851 has been attributed to the famine caused by the potato failure in 1845 and following years. In 1847, the population became materially diminished by emigration, no fewer than 215,444 persons having left the country that year for America and the Colonies. The number of emigrants since 1841 has been as under:—

From 1841 to 1851	1,240,737
„ 1851 „ 1861	1,163,418
„ 1861 „ 1871	921,076

Agriculture.—Ireland is naturally fertile; but until the middle of the last century was almost exclusively a pasturing country. In 1871 its area was divided into

Arable land	15,692,722	acres.
Uncultivated land	4,280,413	„
Under water, woods, } and towns	842,325	„

Estates in Ireland vary in extent from a very small patch of land to more than 50,000 acres. Most of the farms are devoted to grazing, though a few have both pasture and arable combined. The cottier and rundale systems still exist, by the former the tenant receiving a patch of land in payment or part payment of wages, and on the latter system a large tract of land being held by a number of persons in common. According to the returns of 1871, the extent of land under crops was as follows:—

Under cereal crops	1,890,106	acres.
Under pasture	10,472,161	„
Under flax	106,886	„
The remainder being green crop.		

The number of live stock, consisting of horses,

cattle, sheep, and pigs, in 1864, was 8,237,987, in 1874, was 10,177,990.

Manufactures.—The *Woollen* manufacture is carried on in Fermanagh, Limerick, Meath, and West Meath; the *Linen* manufacture chiefly in Ulster, and to some extent in the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare; *Cotton*, in Antrim, Dublin, Londonderry, Waterford, and Wexford; *Silk*, the chief branch of which is Irish poplins, is confined to Dublin; and *Sewed Muslins* give employment to several hundred thousand persons, chiefly females, in the north,—Belfast being the centre of the manufacture.

Fisheries.—There is scarcely any part of Ireland that is not well situated for a valuable fishery; but her fisheries have been comparatively neglected. The salmon fisheries are, however, steadily increasing in value, there being no fewer than one hundred and twenty salmon rivers. The sea fishery is in a depressed state. The herring fishery is carried on chiefly on the east coast by boats from Cornwall; but lately the native fishermen of Howth have been competing with them, with no small degree of success.

Commerce.—The exportation of agricultural produce has always been the chief commerce of Ireland, Great Britain being the most extensive market. The staple articles are black cattle, sheep, pigs, salted provisions, grain, flour, butter, eggs, and linen.

Internal Communication.—None of the rivers are particularly favourable for navigation, but many of them have been rendered navigable by artificial means, and united by canals which intersect a great portion of the country. The most important canals are:—*The Grand Canal* from the south side of Dublin to Shannon Harbour, amounting in length

(including branches) to 160 miles; the *Royal Canal* from the north side of Dublin to Tarmonbarry, on the Shannon, a length (including a branch) of 97 miles; and the *Shannon Navigation*, which, including the Boyle and Strokestown branches, affords a length of river and canal navigation of 158 miles, 129 of which are suited to the navigation of large steamers. In 1872, the number of miles of railway open was 2,091, as compared with 1,741 in 1863, and with 515 in 1850.

Government.—Up to January 1st, 1871, Ireland was represented in the imperial parliament by 4 spiritual and 28 temporal peers, and 105 commoners, of whom 64 represent the counties, 2 Dublin University, 12 the cities and towns of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Belfast, and Galway, and 27 the boroughs. The executive government is invested in the lord lieutenant, assisted by a privy council, and chief secretary. The law is administered by a lord chancellor, a master of the rolls, and 12 judges of the supreme courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. County and municipal affairs are administered as in England, except, that Ireland has an armed constabulary. On January 1st, 1871, the Irish Episcopal Church ceased to be established by law, and the spiritual peers were abolished.

Religion.—The great majority of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics. According to the returns of 1871, the number of each denomination was as follows:—

Roman Catholics.....	4,141,933
Episcopalians	683,295
Presbyterians	504,461
Jews	258
All other persuasions, upwards of	74,000

1,202,614

The Episcopal Church is governed by two archbishops, of Armagh and Dublin, and twelve bishops. The Roman Catholic Church is under four archbishops, of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, and twenty-three bishops.

Education.—For the purposes of higher education, the chief institutions are the University of Dublin, founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1591; the three provincial Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, opened in 1849, for students of every religious denomination, and united in one University; Maynooth College, established in 1795, for the education of Catholic priests, and supported at the public expense; and the Roman Catholic University, established in 1854.

The majority of the elementary schools are under the management of the Commissioners of National Education. The system of national education was established in 1833. The parliamentary grants for popular education averaged £310,000 in the ten years from 1864 to 1873.

SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND FROM THE INVASION OF IRELAND.

1154 Henry II.	1461 Edward IV.	1660 Charles II.
1189 Richard I.	1483 Edward V.	1685 James II.
1199 John.	Richard III.	1689 William III.
1216 Henry III.	1485 Henry VII.	1702 Anne.
1272 Edward I.	1509 Henry VIII.	1714 George I.
1307 Edward II.	1547 Edward VI.	1727 George II.
1327 Edward III.	1553 Mary.	1760 George III.
1377 Richard II.	1558 Elizabeth.	1820 George IV.
1399 Henry IV.	1603 James I.	1830 William IV.
1413 Henry V.	1625 Charles I.	1837 Victoria.
1422 Henry VI.	1649 Commonwealth.	

LORDS LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND SINCE 1800.

1801, May 25	Earl of Hardwicke.
1806, March 18	Duke of Bedford.
1807, April 19	Duke of Richmond.
1813, August 20	Earl Whitworth.
1817, October 9	Earl Talbot.
1821, December 29	Marquess Wellesley.
1828, March 1	Marquess of Anglesey.
1829, March 6	Duke of Northumberland.
1830, December 23	Marquess of Anglesey.
1833, September 26	Marquess Wellesley.
1834, December 29	Earl of Haddington.
1835, April 23	Earl of Mulgrave.
1839, April 3	Viscount Ebrington.
1841, September 15	Earl De Grey.
1844, July 26	Lord Heytesbury.
1846, July 10	Earl of Bessborough.
1847, May 26	Earl of Clarendon.
1852, February 27	Earl of Eglinton and Winton.
1853, January 4	Earl of St. Germans.
1855, February 28	Earl of Carlisle.
1858, March 12	Earl of Eglinton and Winton.
1859, June 18	Earl of Carlisle.
1864, November 1	Earl of Kimberley.
1866, July 6	Duke of Abercorn.
1868, December 11	Earl Spencer.
1874.	Duke of Abercorn.

QUESTIONS FOR THE EXAMINATION OF PUPILS

CHAPTER I

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

Name the first four colonies which settled in Ireland. From what Patriarchs were they said to be descended? What was included in Ancient Scythia? Who was Milesius? What relationship existed between him and Breatha or Brach? What city did Brach found? Where was it founded? Who was Breogan, or Briggan, son of? What city did he found? Where was it situated? What Phœnician city is near it? What was the ancient name of Corauna? Who was Gadelas said to be? Who was his mother daughter of? What was she called? Had Milesius a wife of the same name? Who was her father? What explanation may be given for the mother of Gadelas and the wife of Milesius being called by the same name? What reason may be assigned for Heber, the great-grandson of Gadelas, being called Scot? Who was Carcar? What prophetic announcement did he make to the Gad-elians? From what source may his prophecy have been drawn? Who was sent by Milesius to Ireland? Who were Heber and Heremon sons of? Who was first king of all Ireland? How many kings of all Ireland were there in all of the Milesian race? State some circumstances which give credibility to the Milesian line of recorded kings? What particular confirmation of Irish history is supplied by the early Scottish historians? How does Irish history correct and confirm the history of Fordun? Where was Dalriada? How did it receive its name? Who was Simeon Breac? Who do the Scottish historians confound him with? What was the prophecy of the Lia Fail? In which of the English kings was it first fulfilled for Ireland? How was the skill of the Irish in metallurgy known? When did Ollamh Fodhla live? What was he remarkable for? What voyage did Ugaïne More undertake? Were the Irish skilled in astronomy or navigation?

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1 TO 427.

Who was reigning in Ireland at the time of our Lord's birth? Had the Irish commerce with the surrounding nations? Who mentions this fact? What was the money first in use in this country? Who succeeded Conary? Who succeeded Crimthan? What remarkable regulations were made by Tuathal? What was the origin of the Boromean tribute? By whom was Ireland divided into Leath Conn and Leath Mogha? How was Cormac rendered unfit to reign? Who enlisted the militia of Ireland? What were the requisites for a militia man? What measures did the

Picts take to defend themselves from the incursions of their neighbours? Who burnt the palace of Eamania? Of what were the earliest dwellings of the Irish made? What curious bequests were made by the Irish kings? What were the chief amusements of the Irish? When did Nial of the Nine Hostages reign? Who was the last heathen king of Ireland?

CHAPTER III.

427 to 674.

For what was Logaire's reign remarkable? Who was Palladius? Relate the life of St. Patrick? What happened to Logaire, and who succeeded him? When did Columbkille live? What celebrated monasteries did he found? When did the last meeting of the states at Tara take place? Who succeeded Diarmid? Where did Columbanus live? When was the synod of Whitby? What was Coleman's testimony regarding Easter?

CHAPTER IV

674 to 980.

How is the early history of the Irish church connected with that of Northumberland? What learned man attracted King Pepin's notice? Who did Charlemagne place at the head of the universities of Paris and Pavia? When did the Danes make their first invasion? When did Claudius and Sedulius live? What were their doctrines? When was the doctrine of transubstantiation taught in Ireland? Who was Turgesius? Where did Anlaff, Ivar, and Sitricus settle? Who was Cormac McCuillenan? When did he reign? For what was he celebrated? How many kings between Flan and Malachy the Great? When did Malachy begin to reign? What remarkable warrior now appeared?

CHAPTER V.

980 to 1153.

Who reigned in Ireland in 980, and for what was his reign remarkable? What battle did Brian Borumha fight

with the Danes in 810? How long had he been monarch? Who succeeded him? When did Malachy die, and who next reigned? What two remarkable men flourished in Turlogh O'Brien's reign? On his death in 1086, who succeeded him? In what three cities did the Danes dwell? What injury did the Danes to the church? What order of monks did they introduce, and when? In 1068 what bishopric was made by Sitric, who was its first bishop, and by whom was he ordained? Who was bishop after Patrick's death? How did the pope then advance a step in obtaining influence in Ireland? Who succeeded Patrick? By whom was he ordained? What other councils were held, and what two measures were taken there which brought the Irish church more under the management of Rome, and rendered it independent of the Irish king? When was the Cistercian order of monks established in Ireland, and by whom? When was confession taught, and when were confirmation and marriage first received as sacraments in Ireland? When was Cardinal Paparo sent to Ireland, and for what purpose? What four prelates received palls from him? What were these palls? What farther change was made as to the petty bishoprics? Narrate Devorgilda's story?

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY II.—1153 TO 1178.

What had made the English acquainted with the reputation of Ireland? What British king desired first to conquer it? Who was the next English king that thought of conquering it? What measures did he take to obtain it? By what circumstance did he obtain footing there? Who were now the chief princes in Ireland? Who was monarch? In what year did the first English adventurers land in Ireland? What were their names? What city did they first take possession of? What grants did Dermot bestow on Fitzstephen and the other English nobles? What great lord joined Dermot in 1161? How was Dublin taken, and on whom was it bestowed? Why did Henry wish to recall Strongbow? In what year did Henry land in Ireland? What Irish princes did homage to him? Did Roderick submit to Henry? For what purpose was the synod of

Cashe summoned? What were the principal regulations made there? What was Henry's last act in Ireland? What districts did he bestow on his several lords? Narrate O'Ruarc's treachery to De Lacy? Why was Strongbow again sent into Ireland? How did he offend and then conciliate Raymond le Gros? What did O'Brien do to the city of Limerick? When did Strongbow die? When was Henry's sovereignty of Ireland proclaimed in due form? What grant had Henry given to Sir John de Courcy? What territory was given to Armoric St. Lawrence?

CHAPTER VII.

1178 to 1199.

When was Prince John made governor of Ireland? When was De Cogan murdered? Who was appointed governor in his place, and what remarkable person came with him to Ireland? What abbeys were founded in 1182? How old was Prince John when he arrived in Ireland? Narrate the particulars of his reception? What happened to Hugh de Lacy, and who was made governor in his stead? When did Henry II. die, and who succeeded him? How did De Courcy get into disgrace? How was Armoric St. Lawrence killed? How did Hamo de Valois offend the Archbishop of Dublin, and what was the consequence? Who succeeded Richard I.? In what year?

CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN—HENRY III.—EDWARD I.—1199 to 1307.

Who did John make governor of Ireland? What dispute occurred between Cathal and Carragh O'Connor? How did it end? What English nobles joined in it? Why was De Courcy sent to the tower? What happened to the men who betrayed him? What dispute took place in 1205 between John and the pope? How was it settled? Who was the first legate in Ireland? What took place at Cul-lenswood? What happened to William de Braosa and his family? Into how many counties did John divide Ireland? How long did John remain in Ireland? How was De Courcy

released from prison? Did the benefits of magna charta extend to Ireland? Who succeeded John? What representation was made by the Irish lords to Henry III.? What answer was returned? Who were the candidates for the kingdom of Connaught, and who was successful? How did he treat De Burgo? Narrate the circumstances of the Earl of Pembroke's murder? How were its contrivers punished? What king did Henry fight with in 1245? What was his success? Who did he appoint deputy after the campaign? What was the situation of the Irish at this period? What were the chief feuds which took place between 1259 and 1271? What demand did Henry make of the church in 1262, and how was it complied with? What abuses of the ecclesiastical privileges was the pope obliged to stop? What offer was made through Ufford, the governor, to Edward I. by the native Irish? How was the petition answered? And how treated the second time? What feud occurred between Fitzgerald and Sir W. de Vesci? How did it end? When was the first regular parliament held in Ireland? What demand did Henry make for supplies for the Scottish war?

CHAPTER IX

EDWARD II.—EDWARD III.—1307 TO 1377

Who did Edward II. appoint first to be chief governor of Ireland, and what was his conduct? What governors followed him in rapid succession? Narrate the particulars of Edward Bruce's expedition? How was Sir Gilbert Hamilton saved? What was the oppression of "coyne and livery," and by whom most practised? Narrate the circumstances of Lady Alice Ketler's condemnation? In 1329 what petition was a third time made by the Irish? What feuds disturbed the kingdom this year, and by whom settled? What was the nature of the palatinates, and when were they increased? What expedient did Edward resort to in 1332 to obtain money from his parliament? Why did the relatives of De Burgo degenerate into Irish subjects, and what were their titles? What order did the king give respecting those who had estates in England? What feud did it create? How did Ufford treat Desmond and Kildare? How did they gain Henry's favour? What plan was fixed on in 1340 to relieve the country from coyne and livery? By whom opposed?

With what success? For what was Sir Thomas Rokeby remarkable? What important regulations did he make regarding parliaments? How did the Duke of Clarence govern Ireland? Who founded a university in Dublin? How long did it flourish? What was the statute of Kilkenny? What measures were taken by Sir W. Windsor in 1374? What curious record of the miserable state of Ireland, at that period, is found in the rolls?

CHAPTER X.

RICHARD II.—HENRY IV.—HENRY V.—1377 TO 1422.

What privileges were granted by Richard II. to Ireland? What honours did he confer on De Vere? Why did Richard determine to go to Ireland? What success had he there? Whom did he knight? Whom did he appoint governor? What befell him? When did Richard make his second expedition to Ireland? What were his exploits there? Where was he killed? Who succeeded him, and when? To what expedient had the Pale recourse to defend itself? When did Henry V. succeed? Who were his two first deputies? What was Furnival's conduct? What memorial was presented by the Irish, and what was its success?

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY VI.—EDWARD IV.—EDWARD V.—RICHARD III.—1422 TO 1485.

When did Henry VI. succeed to the throne? Who did Lord Marche, the governor, make his deputy? Why was he objected to? What happened to Marche, and who succeeded him? How did James, Earl of Desmond, acquire his title and property? In what had Ormond indulged him? How did Desmond show his ingratitude to the governor? Who succeeded him, and what regulations were made by him? Why was the Duke of York sent over? How did he behave in Ireland? What was his end? What was the feeling in Ireland on his death? Who succeeded him as governor? When did Edward IV. succeed? How did Edward reward the attachment of his adherents? Why was Desmond disgraced? By what right was the king stated to have dominion in Ireland in the act passed in 1467? What other right had he?

CHAPTER XII.

HENRY VII.—HENRY VIII.—1485 TO 1547.

How did the Irish feel on the death of Richard III.? Who succeeded him? What pretender to the crown now rose? How did his conspiracy end? What were the particulars of Edgecombe's interview with Kildare? Who next pretended to be the lawful heir? Who was made governor in Kildare's place? Narrate the circumstances of Archbishop Walter's conduct in England? When was Poynings made governor? What remarkable statutes were made by him? What accusation was brought against Kildare? What was his conduct on his trial? How did it end? How did Delvin behave at the battle of Knocktowe? What may be dated from this reign? What feeling existed at this time between the English and Irish? When did Henry VIII. ascend the throne? Whom did he appoint governor in place of Kildare? When was Surrey sent over? What was the result of the investigation into Kildare's conduct? Why was he dismissed a second time from his office? What was the cause of the rebellion of Silken Thomas? How did it end? Which of his family was preserved? Who began the reformation? Who opposed Henry's supremacy over the church? Who was appointed vicar to enforce it? What prelates embraced the reformed religion? What acts were passed in the parliament held by Lord Grey in 1536? With what feeling was Henry's declaration of his supremacy received in Ireland in general? What was the conduct of St. Leger towards the chieftains? What important regulations were made in Munster and Connaught? In what state was the church in Munster? What proofs of their loyalty did the Irish give in the French war?

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD VI.—MARY—1547 TO 1553.

How was Desmond won over to civilization and loyalty by Bellingham? What were the chief obstacles to the reformation in Ireland? Who succeeded Cromer? What was his conduct, and how was he punished? What feud com-

menced in O'Neill's family? What disappointed the hopes of the reformers in 1553? Who succeeded Edward VI.? How did Mary show her partiality towards popery in Ireland? Narrate the principal transactions of the parliament in 1556? Relate the circumstances of the Dean of St Paul's expedition to Ireland? What was the cause of the war between O'Neill and Tyrconnel? How was Sir Henry Sydney, the governor, employed? When did Mary die? Relate the anecdote of Lord Conyngham?

CHAPTER XIV.

ELIZABETH—1558 TO 1603.

In what year was Elizabeth crowned? What was the result of Sydney's interview with O'Neill? How did O'Neill show his hatred of the English? By whom was the next insurrection headed? What was the success of Sir John Perrot against him? What was the conduct of Desmond on escaping from the tower? What step was taken by the pope? Who were made governors after Sydney? When was he restored? What made him unpopular? By what act did Sir John Desmond show his attachment to Fitzmaurice's cause? What became of Fitzmaurice? Who commanded the rebels on his death? Who defeated Sir John Desmond? What became of the Earl of Desmond? When was Sir John Perrot made governor? What were his chief acts? How was the attachment of the Irish chiefs shown him? Narrate the anecdote of Sorleboy? Who was Hugh O'Neill? How did he behave when accused to the queen? How did Perrot capture O'Donnell? By whom was he replaced in the government of Ireland? What happened to De Leyva? When and by whom was Trinity College founded? Who was O'Neill joined by in 1598? What was the end of the titular Earl of Desmond? When was Essex appointed lord lieutenant? What was his success? By whom was he superseded? What nation sent assistance to O'Neill? How did his rebellion end? What was his conduct on hearing of Elizabeth's death? What was the cause of the relapse of the Irish into popery, after having so warmly embraced the reformed religion?

CHAPTER XV.

JAMES I.—CHARLES I.—1603 TO 1649.

What complexion did the disturbances in Ireland begin to assume in Elizabeth and James's reign? In what year did James succeed? Whom did Mountjoy appoint his deputy? What were the principal measures taken by him? What step did James take about the Jesuits? How did Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's insurrection terminate? Where did James make a British plantation? What was the general plan laid down for it? Who embarked largely in it? And what was its success? What order did he institute for its support? What disturbances took place in the parliament held by Sir Arthur Chichester? Where did James resolve to form another plantation? Who succeeded Chichester in 1622? What were the difficulties of his situation? In what dilemma was Connaught? When did James I. die, and who succeeded him? Into what state had the church sunk in Ulster? By what concessions did Charles endeavour to obtain money from the Irish Roman Catholics? When did he send Wentworth thither? What measures did Wentworth adopt with the Irish? What trades did he discourage, and what did he promote in Ireland? Why was he unpopular there? What happened to him? What was the cause of the Irish rebellion? Who were the original conspirators? What happened to Lord Blayney? Why did not the English government wish to quell the rebellion? What title did Moore give his army? Who defended Drogheda? How long did it hold out? When was Ormond sent to Ireland? When did the war between Charles and his parliament break out, and how did it affect him towards Irish affairs? What did the recusants style their council? When was Ormond made lord lieutenant? On what terms did he conclude the cessation? On the more moderate recusants offering to lay down their arms, what orders did Charles give Ormond? Whom did he send to treat privately with the rebels? Encouraged by him, what did they demand from Ormond? What did Glamorgan promise them? What prevented the rebels from concluding the peace with Ormond? What were Rinuccini's private views? How was Glamorgan's private treaty discovered? When did Ormond conclude the peace? Did it give general satisfaction?

What was Rinuccini's conduct on hearing of it? What commander joined Rinuccini? Who made terms on Ormond's part which he disapproved of? On what terms did parliament consent to give him assistance? Why did he resign his office? Why were the Munster rebels impatient for peace? What answer did the pope give to their ambassadors? When was the peace proclaimed? What was the effect of Rinuccini's influence? In the midst of the commotion, who returned to Ireland? On what terms did he conclude peace? Why was it of no service to Charles?

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INTERREGNUM—1649 TO 1660.

In what state was Ireland after Cromwell's departure? Where did Jones gain a victory over Ormond? Who was named by the parliament lord lieutenant of Ireland? What town was first besieged by Cromwell, and what was his treatment of the inhabitants? What towns surrendered to him? Why did not the Irish Roman Catholics make head against him effectually? What part did the bishops take respecting Ormond? When did he leave Ireland, and whom did he name deputy? What foreign prince did the Roman Catholics treat with, and what was their success? Whom did Cromwell leave to command the army in Ireland? What towns did he take? Who commanded on Ireton's death? In what way was the land in Ireland portioned out? Whom did Cromwell send over to reconcile the Irish to his government? What title was bestowed on Cromwell in England? When did he die? Who succeeded him? How long did he rule? When was Charles II. recalled?

CHAPTER XVII.

CHARLES II.—JAMES II.—1660 TO 1689.

What regulations with regard to property were made in the act of settlement? When was it passed? What act was passed to do away its difficulties? Whom did Ormond appoint to superintend Trinity College? When was Lord Roberts appointed lord lieutenant? Who succeeded him? Narrate the circumstances of Ormond's disgrace and restoration to

favoured. When was he restored to the office of lord lieutenant a second time by Charles II.? What scheme did the king and the Duke of York meditate? What measure was necessary prior to its accomplishment? When did Charles II. die? Who succeeded him? Who did James II. make lord lieutenant? How were the Protestants treated? To whom did they repair for redress? How had James forfeited the crown? By what right did William succeed as king? Into whose arms did James cast himself on hearing of William's intentions of invading England? Who was first appointed governor of Derry? Whom did the citizens choose as governor? What was the conduct of the townsmen? Narrate General Rosen's barbarity? How long did the city hold out? How did the siege end? To what measures did James resort to increase his money? How were the students of the university treated? What was the state of the Protestant clergy? When did Duke Schomberg land? What distresses did his army undergo? When did William land in Ireland? Where did the armies of the two kings meet? What was the event of the battle? Where did James fly afterwards? In what year was the battle of the Boyne fought?

CHAPTER XVIII.

WILLIAM III.—1690 TO 1702.

How did the commissioners give offence in William's reign? What towns surrendered to him? What was the result of his attempt on Limerick? What great English commander came to Ireland, and what cities did he take? Who was Athlone defended by? In what manner was it taken? What became of Tyrconnel? Who was Limerick attacked by the second time? What were the articles of capitulation rejected by Ginckle? What were those agreed on? What bill was passed with respect to Roman Catholics in 1691, and what bill regarding the woollen manufacture was passed in the same year? When did William die?

CHAPTER XIX.

ANNE—GEORGE I.—GEORGE II.—1702 TO 1760.

By whom was William III. succeeded? What two political parties prevailed in Ireland as well as England? What

measures were taken in 1703 to prevent the further growth of popery? How were the dissenters excluded from public offices? What grant was bestowed in 1709 on Trinity College? When was a union proposed with Ireland, and how was it received? In what year did George I. succeed Anne? Who pretended to the crown? Who was at the head of "the patriots?" What was the object of that party? What was the success of the coinage of Wood's halfpence? Who wrote strongly against the measure? Who succeeded George I., and when? Where did a scarcity prevail, and to what was it unjustly imputed? What was its real cause? What bill was brought in by Bishop Boulter in consequence? What was the tithe of agistment? Where discountenanced, and by whom? What was the consequence? When was the Catholic committee formed? When was the Whiteboy association begun? How did the French invasion end?

CHAPTER XX.

GEORGE III.—1760 TO 1798.

When did George III. succeed to the throne? What was the first insurrectionary party formed in his reign? What was the origin of the "Hearts of Steel?" By what prohibition was Ireland much distressed? From what country was an invasion apprehended? What was the origin, and who was the leader of the volunteers? How did they prove their loyalty? What concessions were granted to the Roman Catholics in 1792-3? Why were they dissatisfied? What was the origin of the "Defenders" and the "Peep-o'-day Boys?" And also the "Right Boys?" What effect had the French Revolution in Ireland? What body of men in particular was affected by it? When and by whom was the society of United Irishmen formed? What were the principles and objects of the Orangemen? With what nations did the Irish rebels negotiate for assistance? Who were their agents? By what means did the priests keep alive the spirit of rebellion? When was the expedition made to Bantry Bay, and what was its success? What was the day fixed on for the breaking out of the insurrection? By whom was it revealed? How was Lord Edward Fitzgerald seized? What success had the rebels in the beginning of the insurrection? In what country did it rage with most violence? What success had the rebels at Three Rocks, New Ross, and

Gorey? Where was General Walpole killed? Narrate what happened at Scullabogue. How did the rebellion go on in Ulster? What was the success of the battle of Vinegar Hill? What took place on Wexford bridge? What happened to the priests Murphy, Edward, and Philip Roche? What occurred at Clonard? When was Humbert sent over? What town did he gain possession of? Who defeated him? When was the last expedition sent from France? What was its success? What celebrated rebel was on board the Hoche? What happened to him? Narrate what became of the chief leaders of the rebellion. What are the chief reflections suggested by the account of the rebellion?

CHAPTER XXI.

1798 to 1801.

Towards what measure did the public mind turn when it was somewhat composed after the rebellion? When had this measure been proposed before? What were the chief obstacles in the way on the side of both England and Ireland? What was the opinion of most of the bar? What was the general feeling in Trinity College? What was that of the corporation of Dublin? When was the plan of the union introduced into the parliament of both kingdoms? Who were the chief advocates for the union in Ireland? Who were its principal opposers? What were the chief arguments brought forward for it? What were those urged against it? When did the last Irish parliament meet? When was the bill for the union passed? Of how many articles did it consist, and what were they? What title was bestowed on the parliament from thence? What title was now bestowed on the king? What have been the actual advantages and disadvantages of the union? On the whole, has it proved beneficial

CHAPTER XXII.

GEORGE III. CONTINUED—1801 TO 1820.

What measure did Mr. Pitt urge upon the king in 1801, and how did the king receive it? When did Emmet's Rebellion break out? Give an account of it. What question was the

subject of debate in parliament in 1805? What remarkable man addressed the house on this occasion? What bill was brought forward by Lord Grenville, in 1806, and how was it received? What were the objects of the Insurrection and Arms bills? What calamity happened to the king in 1810, and what was the consequence of it? When was the Catholic Committee formed? What were its objects? What action was taken by the government with respect to it, and why? What were the results? What was the progress of Catholic Emancipation in 1812, 1813, and 1814? How was its progress checked? When were the meetings of the Catholic Committee prohibited? What was the state of the country in 1815? What Catholic body was formed this year? How was emancipation received in parliament in the years 1815 to 1819? When did Mr. Grattan for the last time address the House of Commons, and when did he die? When did George III. die? What was his age, and how long had he reigned? What members of his family died before him, and when?

CHAPTER XXIII.

GEORGE IV.—WILLIAM IV.—1820 TO 1837.

Who succeeded George III.? When did he visit Ireland, and how was he received? What was the state of the country after his departure? Give an account of the murder of the Shea family. What measures were taken to check disorder? What happened in 1822? Describe the condition of the people. What steps were taken for the relief of the distressed? Who was viceroy at this time? How was he rendered unpopular? Describe the custom which he prohibited in 1822. What emancipation measure was brought forward this year, and how was it received? Describe the proceedings of the Catholic Association in 1824. What was the consequence of these proceedings? State the progress of emancipation in 1825 and 1826. What changes of ministry took place in 1827, 1828? What acts were repealed in 1828? Give an account of them. What course was taken by the Catholic Committee in 1828? Give an account of the Clare election. What was the state of society at this time? Relate the events that happened during the parliamentary recess. When did the Emancipation Bill become law? By what Act was it accompanied, and what was its object? When did George IV. die? What was his age, and how long had he reigned? Who succeeded him? What was Mr. O'Connell's new object of agi-

tation? What did he promise the people? For what was O'Connell tried in 1831? What was the cause of the outrages in 1831? What steps were taken by the government towards a settlement of the tithe question in 1833? Mention the circumstances connected with the Coercion bills of 1833 and 1834. When was the national system of education recommended, and when was it established? On what principle is it based? Describe the Slaughter of Ratoormack, and say when it took place. When were Orange societies commenced in Ireland? What led to their dissolution, and when? When did William IV. die? What was his age, and how long had he reigned?

CHAPTER XXIV.

VICTORIA—1837 to 1873.

Who succeeded William IV.? When and whom did she marry? Give an account of Father Mathew's labours and their results. How were his services rewarded? When did he die? What Acts were passed in 1838 and 1840? What effect had Sir Robert Peel's coming into power on Mr. O'Connell? What office did O'Connell accept, and why? Where were the principal monster meetings held, and how were they attended? When did the government interfere, and how? Relate the circumstances connected with the trial of O'Connell and others. When and where did O'Connell die, and where was he buried? What important measure was passed in 1844? In what respect was it an improvement on the preceding administration of the trusts? What two bills were passed by Sir R. Peel in 1845? Describe the condition of the country in 1846? How was the distress relieved? Relate the circumstances connected with the bills for the Protection of Life. What was the state of the country in 1847? How was it met? Give an account of the leaders and objects of the Young Ireland party. What step was taken by its leaders early in 1848? Relate the circumstances of the outbreak of 1848. How were the leaders treated? What was the state of the country in 1849? How was the distress relieved? Describe the affair of Dolly's Brae. When did the Queen visit Ireland, what places did she visit, and how was she received? What measures were passed in 1850? When was the Submarine Telegraph completed? Give an account of the Industrial Exhibition of 1853. Where and when was a statue erected to O'Connell? What events happened in 1859? When did the Queen again visit Ireland? What occasioned her visit? Relate

the circumstances connected with the Prince of Wales's stay in Ireland. What event marked the close of 1861? When did the Prince Consort die? What events marked the few years previous to 1865? What evidences can you give of improvement in the condition of Ireland? What is the Irish title of Prince Arthur? From what line of Irish kings is he descended?

CHAPTER XXV.

What is the area of Ireland? State its population in the years 1841, 1851, 1861, and 1871? What was the decrease in 1851 and 1871? How is the former decrease accounted for, and how the latter? How is Ireland suited for agriculture? What is the size of estates in Ireland? How are most of the farms laid out? What systems of land tenure still exist? State in round numbers the extent of land under crops in 1871. What were the round numbers of live stock in 1871? What are the chief manufactures, and in what districts are they carried on? Give an account of the fisheries? What are the staple articles of commerce? Which is the best market for Irish produce? Name the more important canals. How many miles of railway were open in 1872? How is Ireland represented in parliament? In whom is the executive government invested? By whom is the law administered? What are the three leading denominations of religion? Give (in round numbers) their respective numbers in 1871. How is the Episcopal Church governed? How the Roman Catholic Church? Name the chief institutions for the purposes of higher education. By whom are the majority of the elementary schools managed? When was the National System established? On what principle is it founded? What was the average grant for popular Education for the ten years from 1864 to 1873?

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